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THE ETHICS OF COMMERCIAL TRADING

A STUDY OF THEIR

INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL CULTURE.

BY

S. R. Hendren

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Introduction.

It is a real misfortune that so little attention was paid by the early settlers of Virginia to the manners, customs, laws and language of their Indian neighbors. For, although it is true that a critical and scientific examination of their dark-skinned neighbors could not, from the nature of things, be expected from these hard-pressed colonists, yet, it might reasonably be anticipated that we should have had a more complete account given us of that interesting race of "Virginians" which blossomed out in such remarkable characters as the stern and haughty old "Emperor" Powhattan and that mild and lovely character - his daughter Pocahontas Matoaca.

Smith, the Father of the Colony and the historian of young Virginia, it might have been expected, would have given us more than he really did do in this regard, but it is probable that as a man of deeds rather than words, he had little leisure for so doing. Notwithstanding, however, the fact that his account is brief and cursory, it is far from contemptible, giving, as it does, some of the most important information to be had on the subject in hand. The titles of this author's works* having to do with our sub-

* In the citation of Smith's works in this monograph, I have made use of Ed. Arber's edition of his works.

ject are: .

(1) "A Map of Virginia with a Description of the Country, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion", etc.- published in 1613, and

(2) "The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles" especially the first, second and third books which are indeed a reprint with variations of number (1). This book first appeared in 1624.

Stith*, writing about 1747, and dealing with Virginia History from 1585-1624, strangely speaks not at all upon this subject, and Beverley** who writes about 1705, while he gives some space to this theme, still leaves us with the impression that he is much too superficial. "He appears," says the historian Burk***, on this occasion to feel a portion of zeal, and to display some of the talents essential to such an investigation. But his zeal is but the hectic of a moment, and he soon relapses into his former apathy."

Of course there were several other writers who give some account of these Indians valuable and instructive, and their extreme value must be acknowledged; but, in general, it cannot but be admitted with reference to all such au-

* History of Virginia.

** " " " " edition of

*** " " " " 1, 310 -

thors that the neglect of all opportunity for gaining information concerning this remarkable people, when that information was readily to be gained, can now only to a certain extent, be repaired. That can be done, however, is to make the best of all the contemporary accounts and the numerous references to these Indians in non-contemporaneous authors and scientific writers, by comparing them, eliminating or reconciling their apparently contradictory statements, and then by collecting and collating those numerous references and extracts to form therefrom an accurate and complete picture of the institutions and social culture of the Virginia Indians; and this I have endeavoured to do as far as possible by the use of original authorities, but supplementing their often scrappy and superficial accounts by a careful study of their kindred and neighboring tribes.

However, though difficult be the subject and the authorities scattered, and, it must be confessed, rather unsatisfactory in some of their most important details, there are writers whose accounts are, in spite of their atrocious style and verbiage, highly valuable, and by the careful, painstaking and judicious use of each and every one of them having at the same time reference to the customs and practices of kindred tribes, we can not fail in coming to conclusions which if not of extreme interest, will be, from

the antiquarian standpoint, at least, of the highest importance and value. To resume, then, a consideration of our authorities: Besides the accounts of Smith and Severly are others of extreme importance. The account of William Strachey is such an one. This was published originally in volume sixth of Hakluyt's Voyages, but as early as 1849 it was published separately, being edited by R. H. Major under the auspices of the Hakluyt Society of London. It consists of "two bookes" with the first of which we have chiefly to do. The title tells the rest:

"The Historie of a Travaile into Virginia Britannia, explaining the Cosmographie and Commodities of the Countrey, Together with the Manners and Customs of the People:- Gathered and observed as well by Those who went First Thither, as collected by William Strachey, Gent. Three years thither Employed Secretarie of State, and of Counsaile with the Right Honorable the Lord La Ware. His Majestie's Lord Governour and Capt. Generall of the Colonie" etc. Date about 1612.

Of about equal importance, though brief in compass is the work of another contemporary authority - one, who, in fact, lived years among the Indians, became thoroughly acquainted with their curious manners and customs, and who was on one occasion saved from a cruel death at their hands

by that "guardian angel" of the Virginia colony - Pocahontas - finally, however, meeting his end during the Massacre of 1622 was Henry Spelman, described as "third son of the antiquary Sir Henry Spelman." His account is called "a Relation of Virginia," and from its pages important information concerning many curious ceremonies, rites, institutions, laws, etc. are to be drawn. It has been reprinted from the original manuscript by Mr. Edward Arber in his edition of Captain John Smith's works (mentioned above) forming one large volume in the English Scholar's Library.

In this volume, too, and likewise in Purchas His Pilgrimes (quod supra) iv. 1685-90. is contained another valuable source of information, which, while not giving, nor claiming to give any description of the Indians, still, as ore-bearing earth, contains nuggets of valuable information. This is Master George Percy's Account of the Discovery and Settlement, etc., etc.

In volume IV of Archaeologia Americana, pp.40-65 is to be found edited by Rev. E. E. Hale the "Relatyon of the the Discovery of our Rivers,"etc., by Captain Newport from 25 May - 22 June, 1607, by an anonymous writer, who, by the general consensus of the opinion of learned authorities is "Captain Gabriell Archer." There is also in this, probably by the same author a short "Description of the People"

Of not quite the importance and value for our subject as the above mentioned works, being, as it probably is, largely based on them, is that celebrated collection entitled Purchas His Pilgrimage and Purchas His Pilgrimes, published about 1612. The religious observances of the Virginian Indians are herein especially dealt with.

In as much as the Indians with whom the early colonists of Virginia came into contact were very closely related both in race, institutions and language to those of whom we are informed in De Bry's illustrations and Harriot's account. I have thought good to make use of their works and the accounts of the other voyages to Roanoke in a somewhat critical and comparative way. The full title of Harriot's account is:-

"A Briefe and true Report of the New-found-Land of Virginia" by Thomas Harriot. This is published in vol.iii of Hakluyt, pp.324-341. It is published also in De Bry's collection of Voyages entitled "Brevis Narratio, etc. The illustrations by De Bry and Wythe are of especial value, and are reproduced in Beverly and Strachey. Another work of especial value just here is Lawson's History of Carolina of the date 1714, afterwards plagiarised by Brickell in his Natural History of North Carolina -(1737).

For the same reason that the Indians of Roanoke Isl-

and and the neighborhood are noticed, the Indians of southern Maryland must demand some degree of attention; and furthermore because of the fact that many of these latter Indians belonged to the Powhatan "Confederacy" which as is well known, extended to the Patuxent river. In this regard the "Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam" of Father White supplies quite a store of information; also the chapters on the Maryland Indians in Scharf's History of Maryland and Rozman's Maryland, especially volume I.

Jefferson's Notes on Virginia in volume VIII of his collected works (also printed separately) pp.148-175, treat in brief form of the Virginia Indians-(1781); and numerous interesting notices of the Virginia Indians are given in Byrd's Westover Manuscript, published in two volumes at Richmond in 1846. Rev. Hugh Jones' work on the "Present State of Virginia"(date about 1724) is likewise of great value; while some of Rev. Alexander Whitaker's letters to friends in England and his "Good News from Virginia" (1613) are of some importance.

Alexander Brown's "Genesis of the United States", containing, as it does, reprints of the most invaluable contemporary manuscripts upon Early Virginia history, must be extensively used by any one who undertakes a study of colonial Virginia from whatever point of view - consequent-

ly it is of high value for us.

Among other works that have been used in the preparation of this monograph, though of course their accuracy and thoroughness must always needs be verified by a comparison with the original authorities, if possible, are:-

- (1) Campbell's History of Va. c.VI. pp. 84-92.
- (2) Burke's " " " " vol. iii. c.I. pp.5-91,
also vol. I. pp. 309-314 (Appendix)-
- (3) Cooke's History of Virginia, c. (in Amer. Commonwealth's series)-
- (4) Neill's Va. Carolorum, London Co. of Va. & Va. Vestusta - which like Alexander Brown's Genesis" contain valuable reprints of manuscripts relating to this subject.
- (5) Howe's Historical Collections of Va.
- (6) C.C.Jones' Antiquities of the Southern Indians. This work, however, deals mainly with the antiquities of the Georgia Indians; only by allusion to those of the Virginia Indians.
- (7) Morgan's Ancient Society. An excellent work, chiefly having to do with the Iroquois and kindred tribes, but especially valuable as giving an insight into the general principles of Indian government and civilization in general.

- (8) H.R.Schoolcraft's Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge,
6 vols.
- (9) H.R.Schoolcraft's League of the Iroquois.
- (10) Drake & Beckewelder have both written works of extreme value on the North American Indians in general; and, finally, I should mention various articles in
- (11) The Encyclopedia Britannica (ninth edition) as being worthy of careful attention.

To be added to the above enumeration, are such invaluable aids to research into the manners, customs, etc., etc. of the aborigines of North America as:

- (1) Publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 4 volumes; and
- (2) Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology,
- (3) Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society.
- (4) " " " " Anthropological " from 1887-1893, and finally, Field's Indian Bibliography gives a conspectus of the whole field of literature having to do with aboriginal knowledge. The works enumerated have been quite extensively used in the preparation of this monograph, though, of course, some to a greater ex-

tent than others. On the other hand, I have omitted to mention many I have used because they would be, more properly indicated in foot-notes.

The method I propose to follow in developing the institutional and cultural side of the Indians of Colonial Virginia is as follows : I shall discuss in order:

- (1) Their Habits, Numbers, Language, Personal Appearance, Character, etc.
- (2) Their Domestic Economy, Private Life, Family, Agriculture, Food, Shelter--
- (3) Their Commerce, Handicrafts, Music, Songs, Diversions, Writing, Medicine, etc.
- (4) Their Governmental Institutions and Their Ruler.
- (5) The Religious Institutions and Beliefs, and finally,
- (6) Indian Survivals in Virginia at the present day.

Chapter I.

THE INDIANS OF VIRGINIA: Habitat, Numbers, Language, Appearance, etc.

The extent of country now forming the State of Virginia consists of high-land and low-land; the south-eastern part, having an area of 23,000 square miles, is a broadly undulating plain, rising from the sea-coast to an altitude of from 100-300 feet, while the north-western portion consists of successive mountain ranges running nearly parallel across the state from north-east to south-west, separated by parallel valleys (600-1200 ft. alt.)⁽¹⁾ This geographical division of the State should be noted; for, in the consideration of the tribes of Colonial Virginia, our attention will be limited to those inhabiting the south-eastern and eastern portions of the State, in as much as in Colonial times, Virginia west of the Blue Ridge was uninhabited by any tribes as a permanent residence or abode, but was frequented by the Indians only in the capacity of wandering hunters or warriors. This portion of the State was, indeed a place of combat for warring tribes to the north and south⁽²⁾

of it, and so will have no place in a consideration of

(1) For the topography of Virginia see Maj. Hetchkiss' article in the Encyclopædia Britannica, art. "Virginia".

(2) See Withers' Border Warfare, p.39; Kerccheval Hist. of the Valley, c.2.

the Indians, of Virginia. It is to the eastern portion of Virginia that our attention must be directed: the inhabitants of this country - the main and characteristic branch of the "Ancient Virginians"- will demand consideration in this monograph.

(1)

According to Captain John Smith that portion of Virginia, which lies between the sea-coast and the mountains, and extends from the Potomac to the southern waters of the James (2) - the Isenacornacah (3) of the natives - was inhabited by forty-three different tribes of Indians.

Thirty of these were united into a grand, patriarchal "empire" or "confederacy" (4) under the great "Emperour" Powhatan: the thirteen remaining tribes going to form the two separate but mutually allied "confederacies" called by the names of their dominant tribes the Mannahoacks and Manakins (5) ("People of the Sword").

The dominions of this august and mighty chief Powhatan, long the most important rival and implacable foe with whom the English settlers in America ever came into contact, extended over that portion of the country south of

(1) Smith: *Generall Historie*, Bk. 2., pp. 347-352; Strachey, ch. 2.

(2) Embracing Tide-water and Midland Virginia.

(3) See Strachey, p. 47.

(4) There was no such thing as a "confederacy" in Virginia. see *infra*, pp. 98, 99, 113.

(5) Also spelled Monacans.

the Potomac between the sea-coast and the falls of the rivers together with the Eastern Shore, embracing, consequently, an area of about 8000 square miles and a population capable of putting into the field 2,400 warriors, that is to

(1)

say, about 8,000 souls. The thirty "nations" or individual components of the Powhatan "Confederacy" had in 1609

(2)

habitat and warrior-population as follows:-

1.	The Tauxenents of Fairfax with 30 warriors		
	(King George		
2.	The Patowomekes "(and 200 "		
	(Stafford		
	(King George		
3.	The Cuttatawomens of (and 20 "		
	(Richmond		
	(King George		
4.	The Pissassecs of (and - "		
	(Richmond		
5.	Onawmanients of Westmoreland 100 "		
6.	Rappahanocks " Richmond Co. 100 "		
	(Lancaster		
7.	Moraughtacunds of (and 80 "		
	(Richmond		
8.	Secacsonies of Northumberland 30 "		
9.	Wighcocomicos of " 130 "		
10.	Cuttatawomens of Lancaster 30 "		
	(Essex		
11.	Nantaughtacunds of(and 150 "		
	(Caroline		

(1) Using the ordinary ratio (3:10) of able bodied males to whole population.

(2) See Strachey, pp.35-40; Smith, Generall Hist., bk.2, pp.346-357, Burke's Virginia, iii, 89; Jefferson's Notes, pp.136-140, etc. In addition to the tribes given above and mentioned by Spottswood (1711) were the Stuckarocks, Totteros, Gaponies.

12.	The Mattapamients of Mattapony river with	30	warriors
13.	" Pamunkies of King William with	300	"
14.	" Werowocomicos of Gloucester "	40	"
15.	" Payanketanks of Payanketank river with	55	"
16.	" Youghtamunds " Pamunkey river with	57	"
17.	" Chickahomnies of Chickahominy river	-250	"
18.	" Powhatans)) of Henrico Co.	40	"
19.	" Arrohatoeks)		
20.	" Weanocs of Charles City with	100	"
21.	" Paspahoghs of James City "	40	"
22.	" Chiskiaks of York "	45	"
23.	" Kecoughtans of Elizabeth City with	20	"
24.	" Appamatucks of Chesterfield with	60	"
25.	" Quiocohanoes of Surrey with	25	"
26.	" Warrasqueakes of Isle of Wight with		
27.	" Nasamunds of Nansemond with	200	"
28.	" Chesapeake (1) of Princess Anne with	100	"
29.	" Accohamocs of Accomac with	40)	Eastern
)	Shore
30.	" Accomacs of Northampton with	80)	tribes

Resides this powerful "confederacy" and virulently hostile to, and leagued together against it were two other so-called "confederacies", i.e., those of the Mannahoacks and Man-

(1) See Forrest: Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk, p.36.

(1)
skins. The former consisted of eight tribes: viz, the Whonkenties and Tauxitanians dwelling in Fauquier, the Has-sinungues and Tegninaties in Culpepper, and the Ontponies in Orange, who inhabited the country between the Potomac and Rappahanock; while the three tribes remaining: the Stegarakies of Orange the Shackakonies of Spottsylvania, and

(2)
the Mannahoacks of Spottsylvania and Stafford dwelt between the Rappahanock and York rivers. The third "confederacy"- the Manakins - consisted of five tribes: viz, the

(3)
Manakins of the upper James, and the Manasiccapanoes of Fluvania and Louisa dwelling between the York and James; the Monahassanoes of Buckingham and Bedford, the Massinacacs of Cumberland, the Mohemenchoes of Powhatan occupying the country between the James and the present North Carolina line. It is evident, then, from a glance at the map that, for the most part, the Manakins inhabited the country between the James and York rivers above the falls of these rivers; while the Manahoack "confederacy" occupied that portion of the state lying between the Rappahanock and York rivers and the country drained by the head-waters of the

-
- (1) Later known as the Tuscaroras, see Bancroft: Hist. of U.S., vol. p.
 - (2) These Mannahoacks were the chief tribe to whom the other seven paid tribute: Smith, Map of Va. p.71.
 - (3) These Manakins were the chief tribe to whom the other seven paid tribute: Smith, Map of Va. p.91 and Strachey, p.104.



Potomac and Rappahanock rivers.

Not only, however, were the Mannahoacks and Manakins opposed to the Powhatans geographically and politically, but there was a considerable dissimilarity in their respective languages: for, as has been admitted by all proficient in Indian linguistics and philology, while the Powhatans and their subject tribes belonged to the Algonkin family, the other two "confederacies" belonged to the Huron or Wyandot-Iroquois linguistic and ethnical group of the North American aborigines.

Several "languages" (i.e., dialects) as many as eleven different are mentioned by Captain Smith as being spoken by the native Indians that environed Powhatan's terri-

(1) E.g. such authorities as Drake, Morgan, Schoolcraft, Heckewelder, Trumbull: indeed no one opposes this view.

(2) The Algonkin family spoke a language, which, says Tancred, (ii. pp.394,395) "was heard from the Bay of Chesle to the Valley of the Des Moines; from Cape Fear, and it may be, from Savannah to the land of the Esquimaux; from the Cumberland river of Kentucky to the southern branches of the Mississippi. It was spoken through a country that extended through 60° of longitude and 30° of latitude." See also Encyclopedia Britannica, vol.I. pp. 686-693.

(3) Including the Hurons, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas and others.

(4) There were seven great linguistic and ethnical groups: (1) the Algonkin, (2) the Iroquois, (3) the Mobilian, (4) Dakotah and Sioux, (5) Cherokee, (6) Catawba and (7) Shoshonee.- See also Encyclopedia Britannica, art. on "America", vol.I. pp. 686-693.

(5) Generall Historie, bk.2. p.351, also Description of Virginia, p. 55.

tories; viz., the "languages" of the Chowanokes, the "Angoags, the Nanakins, the Mannahoacks, the Massawomees, the Powhatans, the Susquesahanoughs, the Atquanachuks, the Tockwoughs and Kuscarawaokes; and, so great was the dissimilarity between them that we are told by the same authority interpreters had to be employed in conferences between them. Still, we are informed by Beverley, (1) that though these languages differed very much between themselves, yet there was a sort of general language (2) - that of the Occaneeches (whoever they were)- in use among all the tribes in Virginia like the Latin of the learned in Europe or the "lingua franca" spoken in the Levant.

Besides these "confederacies" and speaking languages (dialects) of the Iroquois type were the Nottoways on the Nottoway river and the Meherrins and Tuteloes on the Meherrin river, who were, Jefferson thinks, connected with the Chowances of North Carolina. (3) By the consensus of

learned authorities, the Meherrins and Nottoways belong to

(1) History of Va. p.148. Strachey says of the Virginia Indians that "spoke likewise more articulate and plain

(2) and some more inward and hollow"- p.63.

(3) Same as Shawnee from Shawano - "South". See Schoolcraft V. 409 and Waitz iii, p.24.

(1)
 the Wyandotte-Iroquois group. See, for example, the following authorities, "the Shawnee, the Huron, and the Mottoway villages of the Wyandotte family have left their (i.e. Wyandotte-Iroquois) names to the rivers along which they dwelt."

To give some idea of the linguistic relations existing between the Algonkin language and that spoken by the Powhatan on the one hand, and between the Mottoway dialect and the Iroquois on the other, the parallel column of the

(2)
 numerals in these several languages (given below) will be sufficient. Always bearing in mind the important fact that such similarity is not confined to the numerals alone, but is evident by the entire structure of the respective languages. Here is the table:-

	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Numerals - Algonkin	"Virginian"	Oneida	Mottoway	
1	payjik	necat	anscot	nate
2	ninch	nirna	garance	okance
3	nisscoo	nuss	hason	assa
4	nayoo(y)	rowa	laigaloo	hentar
5	nahran	neira ke	wish	whisk
6	ninootwassoo	comotich	yabray	oyac
7	ninchrassoo	topawoon	hishk	okator
8	nissowassoo	nissawoo	takalon	debra
9	ononassoo	heleiruk	nat in	heleiruk
10	netassoo	hasene	oyuloo	waba

-
- (1) Hancock's Hist. of U.S., ii. p. 40.
 (2) For a list of names of the Ind. Lang. see, for example, p. 180-196; Smith Gen. Hist. N.Y., p. 370, 384.
 (3) Proc. of Amer. Ethnol. Soc. ii. p. 102-113; Hall's Indian Vocabulary, p. 72-139; Schoolcraft, Indians of the Iroquois, pp. 392-400.
 (4) See Vocabulary of Smith's Gen. Hist. N.Y., pp. 381-383.

The specific character or distinctive features of these Virginia Indian dialects were, it may safely be affirmed, those of all the Algonkin and Iroquois dialects in general; viz, they were of the incorporative, polysynthetic or agglutinative type, words being condensed and built up by the introduction of ideographic roots, subjoined or prefixed to which were tensal, pronominal or other appendages variant as describing varying objects or relations. Again, they observed the all-prevailing rule (sc. in Indian Languages) that every animate verb requires an animate subject and vice versa, and as a consequence of this usage all sex distinction (grammatically speaking) in these tongues is obliterated. Some other characteristics to be noted in these dialects might be mentioned, such are,

1. Their great powers of geographical description.
especially Proper Names.
2. Their use of pronouns as inseparable prefixes
both to verbs and nouns.
3. Their indiscriminate use of nouns as verbs and
verbs as nouns.
4. The prevalence of mouth-sounds among them of Hebrew "aleph" and "yoth"
5. Their ample provision for denoting number .
6. Their peculiar inflexion of words, changing their

form,

a - for locality,

b - for general quality,

c - to express hurtfulness or the reverse

d - to express diminutives -

7. Their use of inseparable particles as prepositions.

8. Their possession of many sounds and idioms unknown
(3)
to the English. and vice versa

The population of Ancient Virginia was comparatively small. Though from a glance at the number of tribal names, we might hastily assume the presence of a large and thickly settled population, yet when we examine more closely into the matter, we find that far from such being the case the population was exceedingly sparse and thinly scattered.

(1)

For instance, we are informed by Smith that within a radius of sixty miles from Jamestown as a center there were only about 5,000 people: of these 1500 were warriors. This was likewise the case on the Eastern Shore where Master
(2)
Jno. Pory tells us there were only about 2,000 souls. In fact the density of the population of the Powhatan confederacy was only about one to a square mile, or roughly

(1) Smith, General Hist. bk.2, p.360; Map of Va. p.65; Stith, p.91.

(2) in Smith's Gen. Hist. bk.4, p.570.

(3) For general Characteristics of the Indians see DeBonneau, Lieber, Schoolcraft and others.

speaking about one fortieth of the present average density
(1)
of the population.

The complexion of the Virginia Indian was dark brown
or chestnut, a color deepened by the free use of bear's
grease, "red-tempered oyntments" and exposure to the weath-
(2)
er; for, while in youth their complexion was fair, as they
grew older, a gradual but decided darkening of its color
(3). (5)
took place. Their hair was coal-black and coarse like a
horse's mane, straight and long, though few wore beads; (5)
their cheek-bones high, their nose broad and flat, their
lips "bigg", their mouths large and their eyes a brilliant
(6)
black and full of animal fierceness and ferocity, an ex-
pression rendered yet more frightful by an averted gaze and
(7)
a sort of squint: in fine, love of vengeance and lawless
license stood forth in every feature. In physical develop-
(8)
ment, the Virginia Indian was tall, erect and admirably
proportioned; fit model for Polyeletus or Lysippus, Praxit-
eles or Polygnotus. With thaws and sinews hardened by con-

(1) Using the ratio 3:10

(2) Smith says they were "born white." see also Beverley,
Hist. of Va. pp.127,128.

(3) See Purchas V.843; Father White, p.39; Strachey, p.63;
Ed.Ma: Wingfield's Acc't.

(4) Percy (in Browne's Genesis of the U.S.1,162) mentions hav-
ing seen a "yellow-haired Virginian".

(5) Strachey, p.64; Smith Gen.Hist.bk.2, p.361. see also Smith
Gen.Hist. bk.3, p.464.

(6) Howe's Col's of Va.p.139; Strachey, p.64.

(7) Beverley: Hist. of Va. p.140

(8) See Strachey, p.62 & 63; Smith Gen. of Va. p.65.

tinned exercise and exposure and rendered supple by the free
 use of oil, he was active and agile. (1)
 In fleetness of
 foot, he could outstrip the bear or run down the buck or
 elk; and such were his powers of endurance, that he could
 bivouac under the leafless trees of the forest in the frost
 and snow of mid-winter with scarce a fire, or travel for
 weeks at a time with little or no food. (2)
 The women were
 as a general rule, smaller in stature than the men, beautiful,
 with a well-formed figure, pretty hands, clear-cut
 features and a soft, sweet voice. (3)
 (4)
 (5)

So general was this fine physical condition that
 Beverley says no such thing could be found among the Virginia
 Indians as a crooked, bandy-legged, dwarfish or otherwise
 mis-shapen person; though, perhaps, this fact might
 be attributable to a free use of the Spartan remedy (i.e.,
 the exposure of deformed children): if such was the case,
 certain it is, they spared the old men; for we meet with

(1) Their capacity for seeing and smelling was remarkable, see Byrd, ii. 281.

(2) Jones, Present State of Virginia, p.9; Archaeologia America, pp.40-65, and Howe's Historical Collections of Va. pp. 137-138.

(3) Smith's Gen.Hist. bk.2, p.361; Strachey, p.68; Beverley, p.142.

(4) Beverley, p.142.

(5) See Strachey, p.64. "When they sing" he says, "they have a pleasant taunce in their voyces".

(6) Hist. of Virginia, p.146.

Some remarkable instances of longevity among these Indians
 (1) (2)
 recounted by various authors notably Percy and Archer.

In character the Virginia Indian was fickle, treach-
 (3)
 erous, inconstant, crafty and rather timorous, quick of
 apprehension and in their rude fashion quite ingenious.
 Some, of course, were bolder - less fearful than others -
 but all without exception were prudent and wary. Once in
 danger, however, he was calm, composed and stoically indif-
 ferent to torture; equally inflexible, stern and immovable
 (4)
 - a true "Stoic of the Wood". In conversation, he was
 modest, dignified and unassuming; in peace, lazy, listless
 and indolent; in war, vengeful, treacherous and bloodthirs-
 (5)
 ty, never forgiving nor forgetting an injury. Though hos-
 (6) (7)
 pitable, they were covetous and so rather thievish; but
 they never stole from friends, and were by nature affable

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- (1) In Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, I, 165. c
 Campbell, pp. 90, 91.
 (2) See *Archaeologia Americana* IV., 55.
 (3) Whitaker "Good News From Virginia" in Brown 2, 585.
 (4) Campbell, pp. 90, 91.
 (5) See Beverly. *Hist. of Va.*, p. 179 and compare with
 famous remark of John Randolph of Roanoke.
 (6) See numerous quaint and interesting accounts of Indian
 hospitality in Smith, Harriot, Hakluyt's *Voyages*,
 Churchill's *Voyages*, Harris's *Voyages*, etc.
 (7) Percy in Brown I, 162; Smith, *Generall Historie*, bk. 2,
 p. 361.

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and liberally disposed. In fine, they were "most quiette, lovinge and faithfull, voide of all guile and treachery and such as lived after the manner of the golden age". (1)

(2)

John Esten Cooke graphically portrays the character of the Virginia Indian as "not at all resembling the savages of other lands; tall in person, voracious, stoical, enduring pain without a murmur; slow in maturing revenge, but swift to strike; worshipping the lightening and thunder as the flash of the eyes, and the stern voice of their unseen god; without piety, passionately fond of hunting and war; children of the woods with primitive impulses; loving and hating inveterately, a strange people".

(3)

Though improvidence is a fault frequently ascribed to Indian character in general, it certainly cannot be laid to the account of the Virginia Indian; for history assures us that the stores of corn habitually hoarded by them in

(4)

their granaries, in numerous instances saved the colo-

(5)

(6)

nists from perishing. In this regard, Master John Pory speaks of the Eastern Shore Indians as "the best husbands

(1) Barlow's account in Hakluyt. iii, p.362.

(2) Cooke's Virginia, p.32.

(3) Waitz: Anthropologie iii, 31; Van Laet ii, 12; Smith, Generall Historie, bk.2, pp. 569,570.

(4) See "Brevis Narratio, etc." plate 22 of De Bry.

(5) See Cooke's, Burke's, Stith's, Campbell's Histories of Va.

(6) In Smith, Generall Hist. bk.4, pp.569,570.

(1)

(providers) of any Salvages we know"- Father White speaks of them, too, as "very tenacious of their purpose," and as being "possessed of a wonderful longing for civilized intercourse" with the English. He, moreover, goes on to describe them as frank, cheerful, quickwitted, possessing a keener sense of taste and smell than the English and what is more to their credit as "observing generous feeling toward all"

(2)

and (as being) "full of gratitude for a favor shown them".

In intellectual and moral status, then, the Virginia Indian occupied a far higher scale than might have been expected from his general environment. Occupied, as he was, in satisfying his pressing wants by hunting, fishing or in agricultural pursuits, brief was the space he could devote

(3)

to any mental cultivation: still in his narrow sphere of activity he was unsurpassed, and if barbarous, 'twas from his own willingness to be so, not from lack of capacity to become better.

In dress and attire the Virginia Indian was quite

(1) "Relatio Itineris etc." p.41; p.II of "Nova Britannia" in Worce's Tracts, vol. 1.; Brown l. p.265.

(2) "In universum nituntur libérales animos"vide "Relatio" p.41.

(3) Howe's Historical Collections of Va. p.170; Burke's History of Virginia iii, 48-52;

daintly in his own peculiar way, being passionately fond of trinkets. The upper part of his hair was commonly cut so as to form a ridge which stood up like the comb of a cock; while the hair of the right side of his head was shorn off; (1) on the left side, it was worn at full length. On the head were worn feathers of the wild-turkey, pheasant, hawk or other bird; in the ears, through which were pierced two or three "wyde holes, they hung fine shells with pearl drops, pieces of copper, "certaine fowles leggs" or "beasts claws". Upon (2) the breast were frequently worn "Tablets of about four inches in diameter" polished very fine and made of fine smoothe shells, upon which was etched "Birdes, stars, a Half-moon or any other figure suitable to the fancy"- Upon his neck and (4) wrists hung strings of beads peeke or coenoke. About the waist was an apron of deer-skin, gashed deeply about the edges, so that it appeared as it hung like tassels or fringe, and frequently at the upper edge of this fringe was an edging of peeke.

Weapons such as the bow, arrow, targe, sword or battle axe were invariably carried, and quivers of fox-skin or

(1) Beverley, History of Va. pp. 128,129.

(2) Strachey, p.67.

(3) Beverley, Hist. of Va. pp. 180,181

(4) Shell - money. see Beverley: Hist. of Va. p.59. In r

wolf-skin horribly adorned with the head or tail of the animal
 (1)
 were in great estimation. Common to all these Indians
 (2)
 also, certain "markings" on the shoulder-blades designating
 the tribe to which each individual belonged and consequently
 of a totemic significance.

Generally speaking, then, the clothing of the Virginia Indian consisted of the skins of beasts worn in winter
 (3)
 with the hair, in summer without. "They are a people",
 (4)
 says Hariot in this connection, "clothed with loose mantles
 made of deer-skin, and aprons of the same, made about the
 (5)
 middles, els all naked"; and in several accompanying plates
 we are made acquainted with the costumes of the poorer and
 richer classes; the priests, the conjurors, the elders, the
 chiefs and the ladies are all represented to us in De Bry's
 (6)
 Plates. There were then, differences between the costumes of
 the poorer and richer classes; for, while the latter fared
 sumptuously "in large and flowing mantles of deer-skin," the
 former had scarce to cover their nakedness but grass, leaves
 (6)
 of trees, etc.

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- (1) Howe's Historical Collections of Va. p.137; Beverley, p. 129.
 (2) See Hariot's plate 22, entitled "The Markes of Sondrye of the Chiefe Men of Virginia."
 (3) Archaeologia Americana IV,59; also Tables II.and III. in Beverley's Hist. of Va.
 (4) Hariot in Hakuyt iii. 330.
 (5) Plates IV,V,VI,VIII,IX,XII,XVI and XVIII.
 (6) Smith in his Map of Va. p.66.

All females, as a usual thing, wore a semi-cinct
 or fur, being as Strachey says, very "shamefast to be seene
 bare"; (1) but the "better sort" apparelled themselves in skin
 mantels, which were finely dressed, fringed and "earred".
 They also tatoood themselves in various real or fanciful de-
 signs, and frequently decorated themselves with beautifully
 woven mantels of turkey-feathers or silk-grass "exceedingly
 warm and handsome"- On the other hand, the younger women
 and children went nude until they were "nigh eleven or
 twelve returnes of the leafe olde", (2) while both young and
 old went bare-foot, only a "priveleged few "enjoying the
 luxury of moccasins. (3)

With regard to ornaments, copper beads and "paint-
 ings were most popular. The men painted their bodies black
 or yellow, and then, having anointed themselves with oil,
 they would stick in it the down of "sundry colored birds".
 When on the war-path, they would paint with streaks of
 bright red their foreheads, cheeks, and the right side of
 the head, the vermilion tint being brought about by the use
 of terra sigillata or the root pocone. (4)

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- (1) Strachey, p.65.
 (2) ibid
 (3) Beverley Hist.of Va.p.132 and pl.vi. cf.Lawson: Hist.
 of Carolina, p.190.
 (4) Strachey p.65. Beverly, Hist. of Va. p.128.
 (5) Beverley, Hist. of Va. p.
 (6) A common practice among Barbarous peoples.cf.Anc Britons
 (7) Jones: Present State of Va. p.111.cf.Lawson,p.203;Prick-
 ell, p.312.

(1)

It was a universal custom among the women to tattoo their arms, breasts, thighs and shoulders in many fantastic patterns, e.g., flowers, fruits snakes, etc. Cleanliness was also a virtue limited to the females, but "conspicuous for its absence" among the men. All paid great attention to the arrangement of the hair: the married women wearing it frequently a yard long on the left side of the head, but shaving the other side, while the "mayds" always wore the fore-part of the head and its sides shaven close and the hinder part long, which they tie in a pleate hanging down to their hips." Their hair was always anointed with walnut oil as a pomade, so that it was as sleek and glossy as a raven's wing. Now and then, one especially desirous to please would wear in the ear, "a small green and yellow colored snake scarce halfe a yard in length, which crawling and leaping herselfe about the necke often times familiarly would kiss his lips".

(2)

Others of perhaps more cultivated taste merely wore a "dead Rat tyed by the taile"

(3)

For head-gear some wore a sort of coronet some the wing of a bird, some a large feather with a rattle affixed; so e.

(1) Strachey says (p. 76). "This they doe by leaping upon the flesh sundry colors, which when hed into the stampe will not be taken awaye again, because it will not be only dried into the flesh, but growne therein." The same did not tattoo. cf. Br. of Bureau of Amer. Ethnology Nov. 1889, p. 296. Smith: Map of Va. p. 16.

(2) Smith: Map of Va. p. 16, Campbell: Hist. of Va. p. 29.

(3) Beveridge: Hist. of Va. p. 120

... and in a ... (1)
 ... the "land of their enemy ..."
 Many ... for a ... Smith, ...
 he gives it as a general rule that "he is the most callant,
 (2)
 ... is the most monstrous to behold."

(1) Smith, Map of Va. p.66.

(2) Ibid. 67; General Historie. bk. 2, p.36.

Chapter II.

DOMESTIC ECONOMY. THE HABITATIONS OF THE VIRGINIA INDIANS.

The habitations of the Virginia Indians were either oven-like in shape or else oblong with a curved roof. They were built "commonly upon a rise or a hill" on the river-side or near some fresh spring. These wigwams, for so we may call them, were most usually constructed by bending

(1)

small saplings, tying them, and closely thatching the frame-work with "matts throne over" or the "barkes of trees" leaving two openings for doors "one before and a posterne"; so that when complete they appeared like "little garden arbours." So well were such rude structures adapted to their use, that in all weathers they were comparatively comfortable and protective, though in winter they were of course quite dark and smoky, for the fire being built in the centre of the habitation, the smoke had to pervade the whole dwelling before making its exit through an aperture in the apex of the roof. Nor was the wigwam

(3)

and its variations the sole architectural type familiar to

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- (1) They also had dwellings of stone. see Strachey, p.42; Wartz: *Anthropologie* iii. 91; Beverley, p.135.
 - (2) Hariot in Hakluyt iii. 335; Arch.Amer. IV. 64; Smith, Gen. Hist. bk.2. p.362; Byrd: *Westover mss.* I, 171; Jones: *Antiquities of the Ga. Ind'ns*, p.36.
 - (3) There was also very often a "Scaena" or "high stage" both for a shadow and a shelter near the "door." Strachey, 2, p. 90, 91.

the Virginia-Indian. They, like the Iroquois of New York, had also that peculiar form of structure known as the "Long

(1)
House". These as known to the "Ancient Virginians" were from twelve to twenty-four yards in length by from six to
(2)
ten yards in breadth; and their existence implies the existence of a sort of communal life among them.

Their beds consisted of little bundles of reeds covered with a "fyne white matte or twoo" elevated about a foot from the ground by means of a "triedle" of wood. These were invariably placed right against the fire. The Indians in sleeping, invariably reclined "heads by points" one by one with their feet to the fire, some covered with skins or mats and others stark naked "as doe the Irish" remarks
(3)
Strachey on passant. As many as twenty would frequently dwell in the same "house" and same room. Their only utensils were baskets of silk-grass, gourds, or earthen pots.
(4)
fragments of which still cover the spots once occupied by such Indian dwellings; and their sites are still to be identified by deposits of oyster and muscle shells found in
(5)
the neighborhood.

(1) For a description of the "Long House" see Morgan's Houses and House-life of the Aborigines in "Oiske's Discovery of America, 1, P.132.

(2) See note 2, preceding para.

(3) Strachey, pp.70,72; Smith, Gen.Hist.bk. 1, p.361, Beverly, Hist. of Va. p.136.

(4) Beverly, p.183; Father White's Narrative.

(5) Campbell, Hist. of Va. p.96.

The Virginia Indians had various "towns". But the largest of them contained not more than twenty or thirty "houses", standing "dissite and scattered without forme of a street, far and wyde assunder":⁽¹⁾ the population of such towns ranged from fifty to five hundred, several families usually inhabiting one house which was quite large, as has been intimated above.

Sometimes fortified in a rude manner, these towns were for the most part open and defenceless. We have plates illustrating both kinds; the fortified in plate XIX of the "Admiranda Narratio;" the unfortified in the "Brevis Narratio" plate XX representing the town of Secota. In this plate are to be seen fields of tobacco and maize in the vicinity of the village, and the relative positions of their places of prayer, feasting, dancing, idol-worship,⁽²⁾ reservoirs or places of getting water,⁽³⁾ fire-temples and the mausoleum of their kings. One or more of such towns constituted in the view of the old chroniclers a "kingdom", and in connection with others an "Empire"-

(1) Strechey, p.70.

(2) The fortification consisted of a palisade from ten to twelve feet high (sometimes tripled) which enclosed not the whole town but a sort of acropolis- see Beverly, pp. 136,137.

(3) Plate representing the town of Beare.

(4) It would seem to deserve notice that the Virginia Indians in the case of their villages being at a distance from water, always dug an artificial pond or lake to supply a sufficient quantity- see Jones Antiquities of the Eastern Indians, p.



In their domestic relations and family structure, it will be enough to state that the family-type of the Virginia Indians was, to use the nomenclature of Mr. L. H. Morgan, (1) the syndyasmian or pairing. Instead of the large groups presented by lower types of sexual union, the Virginia Indians had definitely organised married pairs, and so a clearly marked family-structure. It is to be distinctly added, however, that communism of wives (i.e., the communal family-type) was by no means unknown: indeed it is indicated by the cohabitation of families in one "long house". A proof of such a communal family-type having existed in Virginia is given by the prevalence through all the tribes without exception of the practice of reckoning kinship through females. (2) This sort of kinship it is generally agreed, is the natural product and result of promiscuous intercourse between the sexes; for, when a child was born, the mother of course being known, and the father unknown, the logical consequence was that the child having no father (3) had relatives only in its mother and her kinsmen.

(1) Morgan: *Ancient Society*, pp. 394, 453 and following.

(2) See Harriet, Smith, Strachey, Halliuyt's *Voyages*, *Revelly et alii*.

(3) See Morgan's *Ancient Society* C.6.; Jones' *Antiquities of the Southern Indians*, p.33; Lawson, p.195. Cf. Herodotus, 1, 173; *Odyssey*, 1, 206.

Courtship was short, simple and unembarrassing in character. If the presents of the young warrior were accepted by the parents of his intended bride, and he gave them proof that he was capable of properly supporting a wife, she was considered as having become his spouse: (1)

This — a beautiful custom among all North American tribes — is charmingly illustrated by Longfellow in his description of Hiawatha's courtship. Marriage took place invariably at an early age. Females about fourteen, males at about eighteen years old, becoming paired. In most respects it stood upon the same footing as among the Virginia Indians as among the other North American tribes. That is to say it was based on convenience, negotiated without the knowledge or acquiescence of the contracting parties and solemnized by no priestly intervention: still, for the most part, the marriage tie was held sacred and inviolable, and contracted with much ceremony. (2)

(3)

Such a marriage-ceremony is described by Henry Spelman as follows: "The parents bringes ther daughter betwene them (if her parents be deade, then some of her kinsfolke, or whom it pleaseth the king to apoynt

(1) Strachey, p.109. cf. Hawkins' Sketch of the Creek Confederacy; Jefferson's Notes, pp. 340-342.

(3) Spelman: Relation of Virginia, p. cviii.

(for ye man goes not unto any place till he be married: but ye woman is brought to him where he dwelleth). At her cominge to him, her father or chiefe friends ioynes ye hands together the father or chiefe friend of ye man bringeth a longe stringe of beades, and measuringe his armes length thereof doth breake it over ye heads of thos that are to be married while ther hands be ioyned together and gives into ye womans father or to him that brings her and so with much mirth and feastinge they goe together."

Though Spelman's account would seem to imply monogamy as existing among the Virginia Indians, polygamy was frequent (1) and was practised by all who could afford it; but as a "multiplicitie of women" was a expensive luxury it was only the "better sort" who could afford it: so that (2) most of these Indians had to be content with one wife.

As a general rule, the Virginia Indian never married a member of his own tribe. "In their marriages", Pory (3) tells us, "they observe a large distance, as well in affinity as consanguinitie." The marriage tie continued only during the pleasure of the parties: the husband could not buy his wife at pleasure, and the wife had a like privi-

(1) "Plures ducunt uxores" says Father White, "inter quos tam en servant conjugum fide." - Arch. Amer. IV, 64.

(2) Strachey, p. 114; cf. Lawson's History of Carolina, p. 187.

(3) See Smith's Generall Historie, Ch. 4. p. 570.

(1)
 lega. The continuance of the marriage-relation, then,
 varied at the option of the parties, still there was a pub-
 lic sentiment against divorce, and reconciliation was al-
 ways attempted between dissatisfied parties. (2)

In married life the women were required to be chaste
 and infidelity was unpardonable; still, however, with the
 husband's assent, the wife would readily yield to the ad-
 vances of an admirer. (3)
 As for the unmarried Indian mai-
 dens, they were generally chaste, (4) for if they had "a
 child when they are single, it is such a disgrace that they
 can never get husbands": on the other hand, it is to be no-
 ted, that the men were by no means of such a good character;
 they were extremely licentious, (5) and we are told that the
 "great disease" was prevalent among them. (6)

Both husband and wife, in their married life, had
 well-defined duties; (7) his it was to hunt, fish, go on the
 war-path, attend the councils of his tribe, build the boat
 or fell the tree: hers, to prepare the food, watch the child-
 ren, carry the burdens, plant, weed and grind the corn, make
 ----- (8)

(1) Howe's Historical Collections of Va. p.140; Jones' Anti-
 quities of the Southern Indians, p.26

(2) Morgan's Ancient Society, pp.159-185. cf. Jones' Anti-
 quities of the Southern Indians, pp. 35-59.

(3) Strachey, p.110

(4) Beverley, Hist.of Va. p.127; Byrd's "Westover" Man.

(5) Strachey, p.110

(6) Ibid. p.110; Arch.Amer.M. 34. Great Disease - Syphilis

(7) Spelman, Relation of Va. p. c. viii.

(8) Cf. Landon's Hist.of Carolina, p.330; Jones' Antiq. of
 So. Indians, p.599

the basket and pottery, and finally perform the office of

(1)

arber to their husbands. Hers was, indeed the laboring
age, and well might the Indian husband say of his wife as

(2)

Petruchio said of Catherine:

"She is my goods and chattels; she is my house,
My household stuff, my field, my barn,
My horse, my ox, my ass, my anything."

The wife, however, was by no means, without privileges. Marriage gave the husband no right over the property of the wife; the husband occupied the position of a man visitor in his wife's house; and, in case of separation, merely took up his bundle and departed; nor did this separation entail any disgrace on either party to the transaction. (3)

In marriage relations, further, it should be noted, that traces of an older stage of promiscuity still existed; (4)

for, it would seem from numerous hints thrown out by various authors that in some cases no exclusive cohabitation existed among the Virginia tribes, but the women dispensed their favors among a certain circle of males; a state of

(1) Smith's Map of Va. p.67; Howe, p.141; Gen. Hist. bk.2 p.361.

(2) Shakespeare's "Taming of the Shrew".

(3) Howe, p.140; Morgan, Anc't Soc. p.454; Jones, Antiq. of So. Indians, p.86.

(4) Strachey, pp. 53-54; Spelman, p. c.viii.

(1)

affairs indicated by the communal life of the "Long House." However this may be, on the separation of a married couple, the children belonged to the mother not to the father; (2) though Beverly informs us that in some cases, they were equally divided.

That a high respect and esteem was entertained for the Indian ladies of Virginia is evidenced by their custom of having female chiefs or sachems who had often great weight in the tribal councils. (3) Another curious custom goes to prove the fact still further, illustrating as it does some delicacy of feeling; that is to say, the custom of keeping pregnant women in a sort of "gynaeceum" apart from the men, "nor will they at such time press into the nursery where they are," avers Strachey. (4)

Of the domestic life of these Indians we have some few notices. Henry Spelman speaks of their "Settinge at Meate" as follows: "They sett on matts round about the house, the men by themselves, the weomen by themselves. The weomen bring to everyone a dish of meate for the better

(1) See Supra. pp.31,32.

(2) C.C.Jones, p.86; Beverly, p.134; Burke,iii, 61,62.

(3) Cf. Smith's "Queen of Appomattuck" and "Queene of Paspatogh.", Beverly's "Rapress of Mandyne"

(4) Strachey, p.68.

(5) Spelman's Relation of Virginia, p. cxiii.

sort never eat together in one dish. When he hath eaten what he will, or that which was given him, for he looks for no second course, he setteth downe his dish by and cumbleth certayne words to himselfe in manner of (a saying grace) givinge thanks, if any be leaft the women gather it up and either keep it till the next meall or gives it to the poorer sort if any be ther"-

Rather more explicit statements with regard to etiquette at meals are given us by Beverley. (1) He tells us that the Virginia Indian's fashion of setting at meals was upon a mat spread on the ground, with the dish between their legs, which were extended at full length before them; and it was only very rarely that more than two sat together at one dish, presumably both because of their enormous appetite, and too, for the very good reason that more than two could not "conveniently mix their legs together and have the dish stand commodiously for both". (2)

The chief eating utensil was the spoon, and this we are told usually held half a pint or more; and with regard to its use they would laugh at the English for using small ones "which they must be forced to carry so often to their mouths that their arms are in danger of being tired before

(1) Beverley, Hist. of Va. p.141. He also gives a plate showing "An Indian and his wife at Dinner"-

(2) ibid. p.141.

their belly." "Old Virginia "hospitality was found there as now, and very quaint and entertaining are the numerous accounts of Indian feasts and dances in honor of their guests (1) given by the early travellers in those regions.

The women, we are told, were easily delivered of a child and loved their offspring very dearly. As soon as a child was born, it was dipped "head over ears" in cold water, and then bound to a board prepared for such a function. The infant was kept so fastened and bound to the board till able to crawl, being released therefrom on a few (2) occasions only. To make their young children hardy which, as at Sparta, was the main end of "education" in Virginia, (3) they were washed in the snow in the coldest mornings; and by paint and "oynments" their skins were so tanned and toughened that after a year or two no weather could hurt (4) them.

(1)

When a child was named, the neighbors and kinsfolk (i.e., gentiles) were invited to the cabin of the parents.

Before this assemblage the father took the child in

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- (1) See account in Beverley, Archer, Stretchey, Smith, Hakluyt, Harris and others.
 - (2) Beverley, Hist. of Va. pp. 134, 135; see also Mode of Carrying Children in Virginia plate opp. p. 134
 - (3) Smith's General History, bk. 3, p. 663; Map of Va. p. 67
 - (4) Smith, Map of Va. p. 67.
 - (5) Spelman: Relation of Virginia, p. ciii.

his arms and gave it a name, which it retained through life, after which solemnity the day was spent in song and (1)
the dance. In order to render their children expert in that chief source of support to the American Indian - archery - the fathers would deprive their boys of food, till they could hit a mark set up for them to shoot at; and such was the degree of skill to which they could attain by such a discipline that they could easily hit small objects at an almost incredible distance. To hurl the tomahawk, dance the war-dance and cast the spear were also fundamental (2) (3)
parts of their "education". "In youth", says Strachey, "the children are given some affectionate title, but when they become able to travel in the woods, and go forth hunting and fishing, the father gives another name as he finds him apt and of spirit to prove brave and valiant." And from such a practice, which existed, as we know, both among males and females it is highly probable that a confusion has arisen among various authorities as to the character and personality of "Pocahontas" as she is generally known.

Instead of the common belief that Powhatan was the (4)
father of only one "little wanton" or Pocahontas, it is

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- (1) Smith: General History, bk. 2, p. 367. Strachey, p. 111
(2) Howe's Hist. Coll's of Va. p. 137.
(3) Strachey, p. 110
(4) Pocahontas - "little wanton"; ~~as Pocahontas~~ Heckewelder, ~~the~~ says Pocahontas means "Bright Stream" - taken from "Hills". This is a fanciful etymology.

highly probable that he had several of them. The Pocahontas (1) (aged 10) who saved Smith in May, 1609; the Pocahontas (2) alias Amconate who, Strachey says, was "married to a private captaine called Kocoum in 1610; and the Pocahontas (3) alias Matoaka (aged 18) who married Rolfe in 1614 imply at least two different persons. Hence, it may reasonably be assumed that the lovely character who saved Smith and the colony of Virginia and was honorably married to Rolfe in 1613 - Matoaka - is not to be confounded with the wanton scape-grace - Amconate - who was married to "Captaine Kocoum" in 1610, and who was in the habit of playing the toy at the English fort. For Pocahontas is mentioned by Strachey as being an "affectionate title" or nick-name given to her as the pet of the family just as we should use some such expression as "little tomboy" or little "rascal". We are then, assuredly justified in making the assumption (in as much as the Indians in general had but two names: a real and a nick-name) that the old "Emperour" might have

(1) Smith in *News from Virginia*

(2) Strachey says "When they are young, their mother gives them some affectionate title (nick-name) and so the great King Powhatan called a young daughter of his Pocahontas, which may signify "little wanton": howbeit she was more rightly called Amconate at more ripe years."

(3) According to Stith, pp. 136, 295 this was her real name

(4) Powhatan, it would seem, had three names, viz. Powhatan, Wahunsecawh and Ottanick. But "Wahunsecawh" was the name by which he was saluted (Strachey, p. 48) consequently it was a title of honor, while Powhatan was a local not a personal name; so that when called the "Emperour of Virginia," Pow-
(over)

had two separate and distinct little pots or warts in his numerous and constantly growing family, whose real names were respectively in their later years Aronate and Matoax. Such an assumption is still further warranted by a discrepancy in the ages of the "Pocahontases" above mentioned, and is still further strengthened when we learn that the real name of a Virginia Indian was rarely uttered, as it was believed among them that a knowledge of the real names of persons gave their enemies power to cast spells over them.

(1)

The food of the Virginia Indians was largely obtained by hunting and fishing. Naturally, then, they took their chief pride and pleasure in such sports, and an additional incentive to activity and courage in such pursuits was the fact that by such qualities they gained their wives, who (sensible girls!) were not so much attracted by men's address and gallantry as by the expectation of plenty of food;

(2)

"they be all of them large eaters and of whom we save with natan much as we would call the Emperor of Russia "Runc". The inference would be, then, that his real name was Ot-taniack."

(1) Cooke (History of Va. p.103) following Stith (Hist. of Va. pp.136,295), says "Pocahontas . . . was her household name, and she was Powhatan's dearest daughter"- He, however, like the other Virginia historians confuses Pocahontas Aronate with Pocahontas Matoax.

(2) Strackey, pp. 75,77.

Flautus "noctes liesque estur"- From their activity in this way, they of course became acquainted with all the places most frequented by game of all sorts.

It was a custom of theirs to go on a hunting expedition (1) into "the deserts" some three or four days journey in parties of two to three hundred together, "almost as the Tartars doe" says Stretcher, carrying with them their hunting houses and women "with corne, accing, mortars and all oag and baggage they use"- When such a hunting party found the deer, they surrounded them with many fires, between which they placed themselves, while some took up a position in the centre. The deer frightened by such unaccustomed noise and lights would become stampeded, running round and round in a circle. In such a condition of fright as many as six, eight, ten or even fifteen were killed at a hunting (2) by their adroit use of the bow and arrow in the hands of the Indian archers.

Again, they sometimes drove the deer into a narrow point of land, and then into the water, where they could be easily killed as they swam by men in boats.

(1) Smith's Generall Historie, bk. 2, pp. 365, 366.

(2) See Percy in Brown's Genesis of the United States, I, 162; Smith's Generall Historie, bk. 2, p. 365; Purchas His Pilgrimes IV, 1685.

(1)

Just as the Bushmen of South Africa used, in stalking the ostrich use ostrich's feathers, skin, etc., so the Virginia Indian in stalking the deer alone disguise himself in a deer-skin slit on one side, and so put his arm through the neck that his hand came to the head that was stuffed, and the horns, head, eyes, ears and every part was as artificially counterfeited as possible - (2) Thus disguised with stealthy step he would come upon the deer, creeping along the ground from one tree to another till he could get a fair shot; then, having wounded it, he could chase the exhausted animal till he overtook it.

(3)

Fishing was done principally in boats called quintans with hand-nets, woven with bark of certain trees and deer-sinews. Angles, too, were frequently used: these were small rods with the end cleft, in which a line was fastened, and to this line a hook deftly made of bone was attached. Long arrows (i.e., harpoons) with a line attached were employed for spearing fish in the rivers; the Accomac Indians using bone-headed javelins for this purpose. (4) (5)

Ingeniously-made weirs were also common. In plate xiii of the "Admiranda Narratio", we find a distinct representation of one of these.

(1) Cf. Livingstone's Travels.

(2) Smith's Generall Historie, bk.2, pp. 365,366.

(3) See Plate 36 of the "Brevis Narratio".

(4) See plate xiii of the "Admiranda Narratio".

(5) See Smith, Generall Historie, bk.2, p.365.

sensation of one of these fish-traps with extended wings; one of which reaches to the shore, and the other far out into the water. It is made of canes or small poles firmly stuck in the mud, so as to preserve an upright position. Placed closely together, and rising a few feet above the water-level, they are securely fastened together by parallel ropes or withes, basket-fashion, and so form a sort of fence through which the fish are unable to pass. In the centre is an opening leading into a circular enclosure: this by a circuitous opening communicates with a second pen, and this in like manner with a third, and that, in its turn with a fourth; each somewhat smaller than the former. Two Indians are to be seen in a canoe at the opening of the weir, one with a net dipping up the fish thus entangled and bewildered.

The Virginia Indians divided the year into five seasons. The winter they called Popanow; spring, Cattapeak; summer, Cohattagough; the sowing of the corn, Neginough; (1) harvest and the fall of the leaf, Taquitock. They, however reckoned the years by winters or cohonks as they were called. This is an onomatopoeic word indicating so many passages of the wild-geese from north to south, i.e., so many

(1) See Smith, *Generall Historie*, bk. 1, p.357; Strachey, p.29; Howe, p.139; Beverley, p.56.

(1)
winters.

The years were also reckoned by moons, though not with any relation to so many in a year as we are used to doing; but the moons recurred with them at regular times and with a regular name, e.g., "moon of stars", the "sorn-moon", and the first and second "moon of cohonks". There was no distinction with them of the hours of the day; though, on the other hand, they divided it into three parts; the rise, the power, and the lowering of the sun; and they kept their accounts of what met by knotted strings like the Peruvian guippas. From September to the middle of November were their chief feasts and sacrifices.

The Virginia Indian cultivated various fruits with care; and in many localities, such cultivation extended over several thousand acres: besides such "large farming", horticulture was also very well developed among them, for we are informed that there was a garden to every wigwam devoted to the cultivation of vegetables and tobacco. Maize was sown in the fields in regular rows, the ground having

(1) Beverley, Hist. of Va. pp. 165, 166.

(2) Beverley, p. 166.

(3) Smith's Generall Historie, bk. 2, p. 372.

(4) Van Laet iii, 16 in Waitz: Anthropologie iii; Force's Tracts, vol. 1.

(5) Percy says he saw the "goodliest corn-fields . . . ever scene in any country" in Virginia. See Percy's Genesis of the U.S. 1, 140; Strachey, p. 60; Smith, p. 363.

(1)

been previously cleared and cleansed of weeds. Large portions of Virginia, then, before the arrival of the whites were far from being uncultivated, and the following beautiful description of an Indian village by Longfellow (2) would apply equally well to scores of picturesque villages with their "cone-like cabins" in Virginia:-

(2)

"All around the happy village
 Stood the maize-fields, green and shining
 Waved the green plumes of Mondamin,
 Waved his soft and sunny tresses,
 Filling all the land with plenty."

By far the most laborious part of Indian agriculture was, as might be expected, the preparation of the ground for planting by the removal of the primeval forest. This was effected by raising the trees near the roots, which were then scorched with fire and grubbed to prevent further growth. When by this means the trees were burnt nearly through, they were uprooted and pushed over with the aid of (3)

stone-axes. The following year both men and women with crooked pieces of wood "in form of mattocks or hoes with long handles" went around the fields beating up the "weeds,"

(1) Strachey, 60, 72, 117.

(2) Hiawatha.

(3) See plate in Beverley p. 183; Smith, Gen. Hist. bk. 2, p. 364; Strachey, P. 68 and Spelman's "Relation.

grass, and old stubble" in the spots. In "counting his laboriously prepared, the corn was planted almost exactly as he plant it to this day. A hole was first made in the ground with a pointed stick and into each hole four grains of corn and two beans were placed and duly covered up. In fields thus planted with "hills of corn" about four feet apart men, women and children were kept constantly busy weeding till the corn-stalk had attained half its proper height.

(1)

In plate xxi of the "Revis Narratio" six Indians are to be seen busily at work preparing the ground and planting corn. No fence or enclosed space of any kind are represented. From the explanatory note it would appear that the Virginia Indians diligently cultivated the soil, using for the purpose fish-bones attached to wooden handles. By means of such rude agricultural implements, these Indians broke up and made even the surface of the ground. Following after the men come the women who, with sticks, made holes in the ground just prepared. Into these holes beans and grains of corn were dropped. In planting their corn, then, the Virginia Indians exercised a great degree of care, but their energy ended here, for, after having ac-

(1) Harriot's account in Hakluyt iii, 229; C.C. Jones' Antiquities of the Southern Indians, pp. 41, 307.

complicated this, the corn was ~~for~~ the most part left to take care of itself. Most of this agricultural work devolved upon the women, who both planted and harvested the crop but they were greatly assisted by a servile class of men (1) and the better-grown children. The corn when gathered was stored away in the store-house of the village, and kept under the charge of the chief-man. (2)

When the corn, planted as above described, had grown up, the beans which had been planted therewith, of course grew up as well, running up the corn-stalks like "hops on poles" as Spelman expresses it. From the same authority we learn the Indian methods of weeding, harvesting, shelling and trinding the corn; and these differ in so slight a degree from present methods that it will be superfluous to give them in detail. (3)

The planting of corn took place in April, but chiefly in May and was continued till the middle of June. What was planted respectively in April, May and June, was reaped in August, September and October. (4) The variety of corn cultivated by the Virginia Indians to such a wide extent

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- (1) See plate xxiii of the "Brevis Narratio"; infra, p. 93
 (2) See plate xxii of the "Brevis Narratio"; also Smith's *Generall Historie*, bk. 1, p. 10.
 (3) Spelman's *Relation of Virginia*, c. cxi.
 (4) Smith's *Generall History*, ch. 2, p. 388.

from two to four ears to a stalk and upon each ear were about two to three hundred grains. Peas and beans were likewise widely cultivated by these "Ancient Virginians" as well as all sorts of melons and fruits; and, we are also, informed that turkies were tamed by them in large droves.

(1)

(2) Smith describes the way the Virginia Indians had of preparing corn as follows: "Their corn they roast in the ears green, and bruising it in a mortar of wood with a Peit, lapp it into rows in the leaves of their corn, and so boyle it for a daintie. They also reserve that corne late planted that will not ripe, by roasting it in hot ashes, the heat thereof drying it. In winter they esteeme it being boyled with beanes a rare dish they call Pamscorew - mens. The old wheat they first steepe a night in hot water, in the morning pounding it in a mortar. They use a small basket for their termes, then pound againe the great, and so, separating by dashing their hand in the basket, receive the flower in a platter made of wood, scraped to that forme with burning it and shels. Tempering this flower with water, they make it either in cakes, covering the in ashes till they be baked and then washing the in faire wa-

(1) *ibid.* p.359 and *infra.* p.15

(2) Smith's Gen. Hist. 4.2, p.359; Bartram's Travels, IV. 1685-1690.

ter, to be able presently with their own hands to take food
 then in water eating the broth with the food while they
 call 'Ponar' -

Cookery

Their food is very different from ours. They do not use
 meat, but eat a kind of bread made of the Bay Leaf, & a
 very simple soup with a few herbs. They do not use
 salt, but eat it with their food. They have
 an excellent method of cooking their food. They
 take a large piece of wood, and cut it into small
 pieces, and then they use it to cook their food. They
 do not use any other kind of fuel. They do not use
 any other kind of fuel. They do not use any other kind of fuel.

Their method of cooking is very different from ours. They do not use
 meat, but eat a kind of bread made of the Bay Leaf, & a
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 ground or else laid upon several sticks gridiron-fashion
 raised upon forked sticks two feet or more above the live
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(1) "Victitant clermarque pulte quae Pone et ovini appel-
 ant; utremque ex tritice (inlic) conficitur adduntque

(2) interdum prole, vel quod venatu, anserioque aspec-
 tique sunt.

(3) See Table IV. of Beverley, p. 139.

ter, they drie presently with their owne heat & the heale
them in water eating the broth with the bread which they
call 'Ponap' -

The Virginia Indians were, then, accomplished cooks.
living witnesses to the fact that man is by nature a "cook-
ing animal." The favorite way of preparing corn for food
among the Virginia Indians, then, is evidently what is
known among modern Virginians as making the ash-cake - that
well-known delicacy, and their "ponap" still survives in
the corn-pone of the Virginia darkies; for, it would seem
that this word "pone" is etymologically a descendant of the
(1) Indian "ponap", not the Latin "panis". "Hominy" or ⁽²⁾ *hominy*
ed up Indian corn, soaked, husked and boiled in water over a
gentle fire from two to twelve hours, is yet another dish
originating among these Indians; and our mode of cooking
(3) called "barbecuing" is yet another "survival". This was
one of their modes of broiling- the one in which the meat
was either impaled on the end of one stick fastened in the
ground or else laid upon several sticks gridiron-fashion
raised upon forked sticks two feet or more above the live
coals. This mode of cooking has the advantage of heating

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- (1) "Victitant utrumque pulte quæ Pone et omni appel-
and ant; utremque ex tritice (indie) conficitur adduntque
(2) interdum prole, vel quod venatu, uncio quo associ-
tique sunt.
(3) See Table IV. of Leverley, p. 139.

gradually, and at the same time dries up all extra moisture.
(1)

In preparing the meats of wild animals, these were all skinned and gutted, and the fowls picked; but fish were dressed with the scales and ungutted. Excellent broth was made by ~~them~~ out of the "head and hiles" of the deer, which "all bloody were put into the pot;" this decoction Beverley likens to the famous black broth (---) of the ancient Lacedaemonians. Indian corn gathered while young and milky and roasted before the fire - "roasting-ears" - was considered a great delicacy, and besides eating ~~their corn~~ in this way the Virginia Indians had two other modes of preparing corn: viz. (1) Ustatahoven, made of proats and the coarser pieces of corn (after fanning away the lighter portions) boiled together in water three or four hours. (2) Pohytough, a mixture of corn-meal and burnt corn-cob.
(4)

The Virginia Indians, indeed, had a great variety of food both in the natural products of the earth, fish, flesh and fowl, and also in the fruits of their agricultural labors. They lived on all sorts of birds, for "of them there

(1) Beverley, p.139; Barlowe's account in Hakluyt, iii,30

(2) Beverley, p.139.

(3) The "Pagatoor" of Harriot, iii, pp.328,329.

(4) Spelman, p.xvi. Smith's Gen.Hist. bk.2, p.252-277; Strachey, pp. 114-130; Beverley, p. 127-141.

(1)

and "great" there only peacocks and cygnons wanting. Almost every variety of wild animal supplied them with meat; deer, "goats", squirrels, "staves", aronchoun, assapanick, (squirrels) musascus (musk-rat), bears, beavers, otters, foxes, opossums, hares, etc., were abundant. Fish of all kinds teemed in the rivers, bays and creeks. "Sodden wheate", peas, beans and pulse were always eaten, and when these were not at hand the Indians did not disdain as articles of food crabs, the nymphae of wasps, scarabaei, cicadae and such like articles. Bread was made not only of corn as we have noticed, but also of wild-oats and the seeds of the sun-flower. For a relish, the ashes of hickory, stickweed, or some other such plant was, as they appear to have had no salt. In their "gardens" near the towns cherries, peaches, strawberries, grapes, cushaws, melons, pumpkins, plums and persimmons were cultivated with care; and these fruits were not only eaten but dried and preserved.

Cinquapins, chestnuts, hickories and walnuts were highly esteemed, but hazle-nuts appear to have been little esteemed by these curious people. The kernels of such nuts beaten in a mortar with water added would form a thick milky fluid; this they called Pawcobiccora and greatly was

it esteemed. Acorns were made into bread, or else oil was extracted from them. Earth-nuts, cutani-mons, cowcomons wild-onions and tuckahoe root "of a very hot and virulent quality" (of which a sort of bread was made) were also important articles of food.

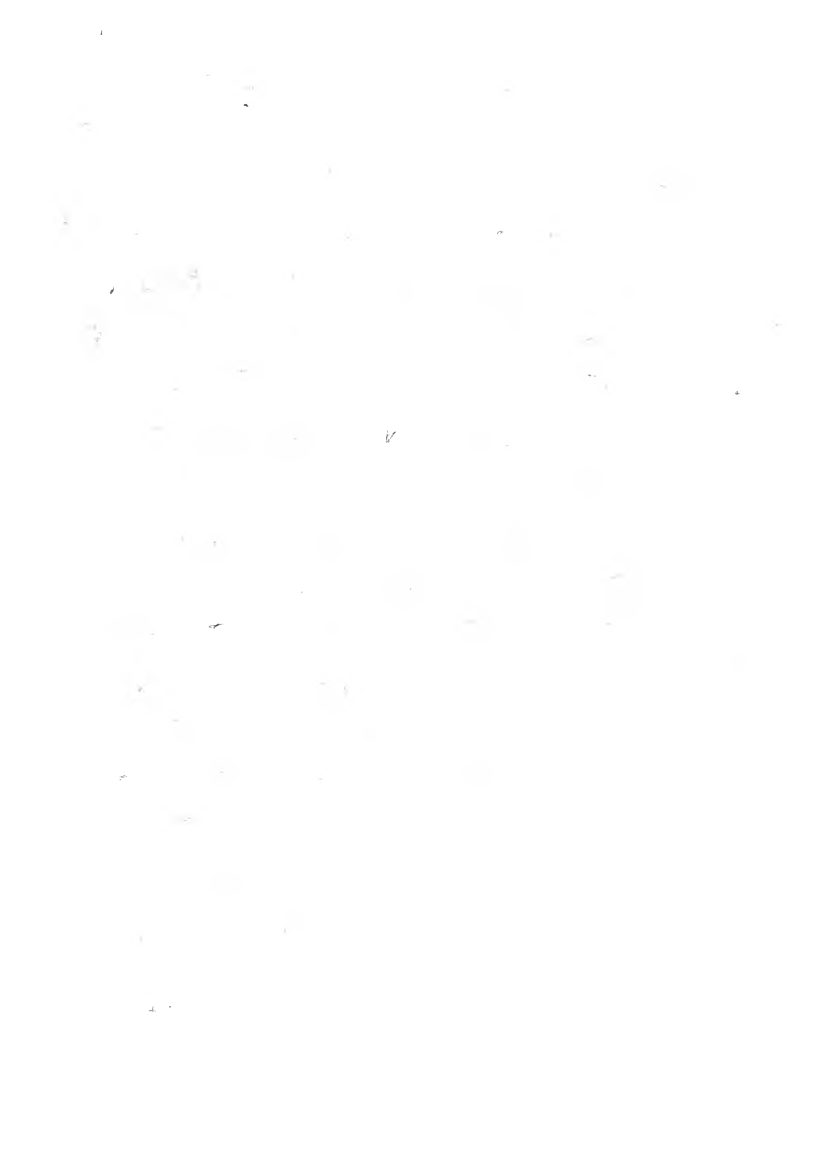
Another of the great staples of ancient Virginia was tobacco. Strachey, however, assures us that it was "not of the best Kynd", and then proceeds to describe the way in which it was used among them. ~~the~~ the Salvages here dry (1) the leaves of the apocke over the fier, and sometimes in the sun, and crumble yt into poulder, stalks leaves and all, taking the same in ripes of earth which very ingeniously they make" (2)

Subsisting, then as they did, mainly upon the necessity of nature and chiefly by hunting and fishing, the Virginia Indians were under the necessity of changing their Diet as the seasons changed. In March and April they lived chiefly upon animal food and their fishing weies, feeding on fish, turtles or squibbels: in May and June they planted their fields and lived principally on the spontaneous products of the earth or water - acorns, walnuts and fish - In order to vary their diet and get sufficient to

(1) Strachey, p. 122

(2) Apocke - Tobacco. Harriot (in Hakluyt iii, 320) calls it "Upprooe"-

(3) Smith's Gen. Hist. bk. i, p. 223.



out, it was a common usage among them to disperse in small companies and live thus separated upon straberries, mulberries, tarrapins, oysters, crabs or fish or green corn.

As a result of and at the same time as evidence of their utter dependance upon nature's bounty; we are informed by

(1)

Captain Smith that, like the wild-beasts their bodies altered with their diet and were fat or lean according to the season of the year. How great soever their variety of food

(2)

their only drink, says Strachey, was "allice water"; this they drank "as the Turkes doe: for alieit they have grapes, and floures of cool store, yet they have not value upon the use of them nor advise to keepe them into wyne"- It was not till the arrival of the civilized white-man that "aquavita" was enticed from the brains of their Pagatow.

(1) Smith's Generall Historie, bk. 2, p. 363; Map of Va., 16

(2) Strachey, p. 83. Beverley (p. 141) tells us that their prefered drink was Pond-water heated by the rays of the sun.

Chapter III.

COMMERCE, HANDICRAFTS, DIVERSIONS, WRITING, MEDICINE

Of course the arrival of the English colonists and their active intercourse with the various Indian tribes of Virginia stimulated their trading instincts, (1) and caused them very soon to put a true valuation upon their rude wealth (2) with reference to articles of English manufacture. Still, however, there must have been quite an active commerce and trade going on among the different tribes before the arrival of the whites. The existence of such a widespread system of inter-tribal barter is frequently alluded to by contemporary writers. Smith, (3) for instance, (and in this he is corroborated by others) mentions the fact of having seen Indians in Virginia with copper ornaments and tools which must have come from the copper mines of Lake Superior or other far distant regions. The same writer tells us of people dwelling in certain localities in Virginia whom he characterizes as the "best merchants of all other Savages." Though most of their transactions were in barter, money in a crude sense at least existed among them;

(1) Beverley, p.195; Byrd, "Westover Mass. 1, p.160.

(2) See "Report of Fr. Marnel" in Brown's "Genesis" I, p.13.

(3) Smith: General Hist. bk. 3, p.415 and bk. 2, pp.350, 351 Map of Va. p. 74; Ware, p.138.

(1) (2)
 peake, glass and copper forming the sort of media of
 exchange. (3) (4) (5) (6)
 Pipes, runtees and pearls are also to be noted as varieties of the "Treasure" and "Riches" of the Indian or Virginia.

Discoidal stones, pipes, beautifully fashioned, spear-and arrow-points and other articles manufactured exclusively by the Indians of the inland countries and mountainous districts were readily exchanged by a class of intermediaries (- "Marchants") with the coast-tribes who gave in return therefore shells, pearls and commodities peculiar to their part of the country, and consequently of value to

(1) "Peak" says Beverley (p. 180), "is of two sorts or rather colors, for both are made of one shell though of different parts; one is a dark purple cylinder, and the other a white. They are both made in size and figure alike and commonly much resembling the English Purles, but not so transparent nor so brittle. They are stoned by a hole drilled through the centre. The dark purple is the dearest and is distinguished by the name of Wampum peak. The Indian traders value the Wampum peak at eighteen pence per yard and the white peak at nine pence." cf. Lawson's Hist. of Carolina, p. 315; Tricell, p. 327 et seq.

(2) Roanoke was "made of the Cockle shell, broke into small bits with rough edges, drilled through in the same manner as beads. It was used as the Peak. see Beverley, p. 180.

(3) Jones' Antiquities of the So. Indians. p. 102.

(4) Pipes were made of Peak, two or three inches long and thicker than ordinary: Beverley, p. 181

(5) Runtees were made of shell and ground. They were either long or circular and flat.

(6) See Harriot (in Hakluyt iii, 329); Beverley (p. 181) says: "they likewise have some pearl about the , and formerly had many more, but where they got them is uncertain save they found them in the oyster banks which are frequent in this country."



the hill people. Proof positive of such commercial relations exists in the fact that the shell-heaps and relic beds of Eastern Virginia contain, as we shall see below, various articles of utility or ornament brought from a distance; and, it is a particularly fact that the very finest specimens are thus obtained at the furthest distances from the spot whence the material used in their manufacture was procured.

Great skill and persevering ingenuity is evidenced by the manufacture and preparation of such shell-money, wampum-peak and other articles of ornamentation among the Virginia Indians, nor were their energies directed solely in this direction, for their proficiency in the manufacture of weapons and household utensils, in pottery, weaving and a rude metallurgy was almost equally marked. The skill in "handicrafts", indeed, exhibited by these Virginia Indians was far from contemptible, nor was their artistic skill by any means mediocre for barbarians as they were.

(1) See Jones' Antiquities of the Southern Indians, pp. 33, 34, and cf. Rau's "Zustandverhältnisse der Eingeborenen Nord Amerikas" in Archiv für Anthropologie.

(2) See Feyerher, pp. 122, 123; Smith: Gen. Hist. bk. 3, pp. 364, 365; Stuckey, p. 32.

(3) The Virginia Indians were in the Lower or Middle Status of Barbarism according to Mr. L.H. Morgan's classification. See his Ancient Society, p. 152.

(1)

proper manner", says Harist. They seeme very intent to . . . show excellencie of wit." The direction of such ingenuity and "excellencie of wit" was naturally, mainly in the manufacture of weapons or implements of utility in war or the chase.

Bows were made into the proper form by scraping down staves of locust or hickory to the proper thickness by aid of a shell; arrows were fashioned of straight sprigs of reeds and headed with bone. Flint, crystal, or even the spur of the wild-turkey or beak of some bird; they were "fledged" with turkey-feathers. Their shields were round and made of the bark of certain trees and silk-grass, and so compactly were they woven that they were impenetrable by an arrow. Their swords were fashioned of hickory wood, very large and "like such wooden instruments as our English women swingle their flax withal." Instead of a sword, use was frequently made of a sort of wide battle-axe made of the bone of a deer put through a piece of wood like a pick-axe or hoe. A splinter of reed or shell served as

(1) In Hakluyt iii, 333; in Howk's Hist. of North Carolina 1, p.180.

(2) Beverley, p. 182; Strachey, p. 105; Smith, Gen. Hist. bk. 2, p. 364; Hakluyt's Voyages iii. 312.

(3) Indian targets, says Smith, (Gen. Hist. bk. iii. p.425) were "made of little small sticks woven betwixt strings of hampe and silk-grass, as is our cloth--no arrow can penetrate them."

(4) Strachey, p. 39; De Bry's "Brevis Descriptio" plate iii.

a knife, and a bear's tooth "notched" their arrows; arrow-joints were attached to the shaft of the arrow by a glue made of sinews. Boats, quintans or canoes "like the ancient monoxylum navigium" were fashioned out of the trunk of a single tree. The tree was first felled by means of fire and stone-axes, then a fire was built upon its trunk as it lay upon the ground, and the burnt and scorched parts scraped away with stones and shells until it at length assumed the shape of a trough: some of these "quintans" were as much as three feet deep and forty feet long and would accommodate as many as thirty men. They were

propelled not by oars but by paddles or sticks; and with

(1) Trees were felled by fire not by tools, see plate opp. p. 183 of *everley*.

(2) De Bry in his "Admiranda Narratio" pl.xii describes the manufacture of canoes by the Va. Indians as follows: "Hic est in Virginia cymbas fabricandi ratio; nam cum ferreis instrumentis aut aliis nostris similibus careant, eas tamen parare norant nostris non minus commodas ad navigandum quo lubet per flumina et ad piscandum. Primum arbore aliqua crassa et alta dilecta, pro cymbae quam parare volunt magnitudine, ignem circa eius radices summa tellure in ambitu strunt ex arborere musco bene desiccato et lignisulis paulatim ignem excitantes, ne flamma altius ascendat et arboris longitudinem minuat. Paene adusta et ruina minante arbore, novum suscitant ignem quem flagrare sinunt donec arbor sponte cadat. Adustis deinde arboris fastigio et ramis et truncas instam longitudinem retineat tignis, transversis supra furcas positis imponunt eam altitudine ut comode laborare possint tunc cortice conchis quibusdam adento integrioram trunci partem pro cymbae inferiore parte servant in altera parte ignem secundum trunci longitudinem strunt praeterquam extremis quod satis addustum illis videtur restricto igne cōchis scabunt et novo suscitato igne denuo addurunt itta deinceps perunt subind urentes et scabentes donec spūba necessarium alvum exacta sit.

such rude means of propulsion as these assisted on their hands and feet, they would fly through the water with incredible speed.
(1)

Of shells of various species (clam, cockle, land-tortoise, oyster, mussel, conch, etc.) the Virginia Indians manufactured for themselves eating utensils, spoons,
(2)
(3) (4) (5)
drinking-cups knives, tweezers, rattles, gougers, (6)
chisels, scrapers etc.; in fact, shells were in common use as weapons for war or the chase, for agricultural implements, fishing and in a variety of arts (e.g. pottery).

Varieties of shells, also were material out of which beads, bead-ornaments, etc. were made; and, as is well known, shells as wampum-peaks (sc. money) played an exceedingly important part in Indian economy. (7)
From salt-water and lacustrine shells, too, were obtained pearls; these were perforated, strung and worn around the neck, arms, wrists, waist and ankles. Other articles of adornment made

- (1) Smith, Gen. Hist. bk.2, p.364. Bark canoes were seldom seen in Virginia.
(2) Beverley, (p.154) speaks of a "cockle-shell . . . they sometimes used instead of a spoon."
(3) See "Brevis Narratio" plate xxix.
(4) Beverley (p.97) speaks of "Knives . . . of shell"
(5) ibid p.140; Beckwelder, p.205.
(6) cf. Lawson's Hist. of Carolina, pp. 339,339.
(7) See Supra p.69 ; cf. Jones' Antiq. of the Southern Indians, pp. 495-524; Pubs. of Amer. Bureau of Ethnology ii, 355,256.

(1)

of the small-material were corsets, necklaces, amulets and anklets, pins and ear-rings.

Various articles of stone formed a large proportion of the Indian implements. Of stone, the Virginia Indians

(2)

made axes, hatchets, celts, swords, mortars, mullers, pestles, hammers, smoothing and crushing stones, etc.. Picks, chisels, awls, or borers, bet-sinkers, hammer-stones, and soap-stone vessels are to be found to this day scattered over Virginia soil - remnants of her former inhabitants -

(3)

Grooved axes, scrapers, drills, knives, spear-points, arrow

(4)

points and discoidal stones (clubbing ke) as well as pipes and various ornaments are also abundant even yet in some localities. Nor, as has been estimated above, did the Virginia Indians remain content with the materials supplied by the section of country in which they made their abode; they it would seem, sought far and wide for finer substances and materials for their tools and utensils than their own section of the country afforded. Such a desire impelled them to procure flint, rhyolite, jasper and argillite from the

(1) Beverley. Hist. of Va. p.146.

(2) See pl. xxviii of "Erevis Narratio"; Brown, Gen. of U. S. 1, p.396.

(3) See pl.xii of the "Admiranda Narratio"; Brown's Genesis, p.396.

(4) Macmillan's Researches p.82; Adair's Hist. N. Ind. p.170

(5) See in general on the subject article on the "Distribution of Stone Implements in the Tide-Water Country" by W.H. Holmes in American Anthropologist for 1893; See supra; see also Smith's Gen. Hist. bk.2, p.350.

mountains through the lands of the "Onakins or "Grant-like
 (1)
 Susquesahannaks". Quartz, chalcedony, slate, steatite,
 hornblende, diorite, greenstone and hematite were likewise
 obtained from the same quarter and manufactured into various
 articles of utility or ornament.

Fire - that great key to all civilization - was produced among the Virginia Indians much as it was among the primitive Semites of Babylonia, the early Japanese and Chinese, and the Bushmen and the Polynesians of almost our day; that is to say, it was brought about by the friction method. It was kindled by chafing or rubbing a dry pointed stick in a hole formed in a little square piece of wood: in a moment's time, ignited sparks would fly from the point of contact of the two pieces of wood, quickly inflaming any
 (2)
 dry thing placed near enough. The method of obtaining fire by striking together metals or flints does not seem to have been familiar to the Virginia Indians; some metallic substances were, however, undoubtedly known to them, and they possessed some knowledge of melting and moulding these metals.
 (3)

als. Strachey, for instance, speaks of "the Pocootowven-

(1) See in general on the subj. art. on "Distribution of Stone Implements in the Tide-Water Country" by W.H. Holmes in American Anthropologist for 1903; see supra: see also Smith's Gen. Hist. bk. 1, p. 350.

(2) Smith Gen Hist. bk. 2, p. 363; Strachey, p. 112; Beverley p. 182.

(3) Strachey, p. 7. This authority mentions "copper" as being mined at the other places.

(1)
 asks "who melted copper" and other metals as living to the
 northward of the falls (of the James) and ending to the
 north-east." (2)
 Ralph Lane describes a copper mine at the
 river Noratoc; (3) Harriot (4) speaks of finding "divers small
 plates of copper some fifty miles in the mainland and men-
 tions "mountains and rivers that yield white grains of met-
 all, which is to be deemed silver" (5)
 Newport, speaking of
 the Blue Ridge (=Quirau) says: "Here our guide whispered
 with me that this coquassa (=red-stone-copper) was got in
 the hills of rocks and between cliffs in certaine veins."
 (6) (7)
 Purchas and Richard Hakluyt also mention copper-mines
 as existing and as being worked among the Virginia Indians.
 Purchas, in particular, gives us some inkling of how the
 "Virginians" melted copper. He thus describes their meth-
 ods:-

- (1) It would seem that copper was the best known and most
 valued metal among the Virginia Indians, as among
 those of whom Lucretius says:
*"Posterior ferri vis est, aerisque reperta
 Et prior aeris erat quam ferri cognitus usus"*
 (2) In Hak.iii, 315. Description of a mine at Chaunis
 Temoatan.
 (3) Noratoc river - the Roanoke.
 (4) In Hak.iii, 329.
 (5) In Arch.Amer. IV. 6
 (6) Purchas IV. 1784 ("Va. affairs till This Present 1624")
 (7) Hakluyt's "Tristle Pedicatorie" to his translation of
 the Gentlemen of Elvas' Story.

"They report also of copper - - - gathered at the foote of the mountaines, where they dig a hole in the ground in which they put the ore, and make thereon a great fire, which causeth it to runne into a masse, and become malleable. Neither have they any tooles but stones for that purpose"-

(1)

Ralph Lane reports the "Virginians" as saying that they obtained their metal out of the shallow places of a river falling from the rocks; "The maner is this", he goes on to say, "they take a great toubie by their description as great as one of our targets and wrappe a skinne over the hollow part thereof leaving one part open to receive the minerall; that done, they watch the coming downe of the current and the change of the colour of the water, and then suddenly clap downe the said boule with the skinne, and receive into the same as much ore as will come in, which is ever so much as their boule will holde, which presently they caste into a fire and presently it melteth and doth veild in five parts at the first melting, two parts of metall to three parts of ore"-

The Virginia Indians applied fire to another very important use - the baking of their earthenware articles -

(1) See Hakluyt, iii, 365.

In other words they practised with some degree of skill the
(1)

art of making pottery - Thomas Hariot, Historian of the
Roanoke expedition of 1585 gives the following brief but
clear account of this industry and its utility among these
Indians, illustrating the process by a copper plate which
(2)

appears in De Bry . He says: "Their weomen know how to
make earthen vessels with special cunninge and that so
large and fine, that our potters with thore wheel can make
noe better; and then remove them from place to place ease-
ly as we can doe our brasse kettles. After they have sett
them upon a heape of earthe to stave them from fallinge,
they putt wood which being kindled one of them taketh great
care that the fyre beane equally rounde both. Then our ther
woemen fill the vessel with water and then putt they in
herbe and fish and lett all boyle together"-

A good collection of such pottery as-is thus de-
scribed is in the National Museum at Washington, and also
in various private collections. It has been and still is
found in considerable quantities distributed along the
Tide-water rivers and bays in Virginia. The workmanship

(1) In Hakluyt's Voyages, iii ; Barlow's account in
Hak. iii, p.306; and compare Jones: Antiquities of the
Southern Indians, pp. 4-1-4 3.

(2) From a drawing executed by John White.

implied by this pottery argues a high degree of skill, much higher than that attained by the northern and western tribes. Moulds, it would seem, were very frequently employed in the fashioning of such articles, but not exclusively; for, in numerous cases, the walls of such vessels were, without doubt, built up by hand: in other words, these vessels were formed of numerous bands of clay--superimposed one on the other, pressed together and then smoothed down by the fingers; or, it may be, some rude implement was employed for that purpose. As for the materials out of which these vessels were made, it may be said that they varied considerably in quality and consistency; sometimes mere clay was employed, but in most instances, such clay was tempered and its quality improved by pounded shells.

There was no very wide range of shape in these vessels. The pot was the type, and no other ceramic form was attempted at least to any extent. Needless to say such a type-plan is simple; for it is in neck and handles alone, that the pot affords room for variations or artistic finish; and even such slight modifications were rarely attempted. Utility, then, not beauty was the object striven for by the Indian potter, and the sooty surfaces and smoke-blackened sides of specimens of Indian pottery alone clearly indicate the use to which they were put.

The measure of the dexterity possessed by such articles of Indian fictile art consists exclusively in regular impressions made by the fingers, notched cords or some rough tool upon the clay when in a soft condition. "It is interesting to note", says Mr. W. H. Holmes with reference to the character of this ornamentation, "that the tattoo marks upon the foreheads, cheeks, chin, arms and legs of the chiefs and ladies of the Chesapeake as shown in John White's illustrations of the Roanoke Indians are identical with the figures upon the pottery now exhumed from the Shell-heaps"-

In textile art - weaving - as in fictile art - pottery - these Virginians manufactured a large variety of articles.- "Wattle structures for shelter or for trapping fish, mats for coverings, hangings and carpetings, nets for fishing, baskets, aprons and pouches for ordinary uses testify to the skill of the Indian in this regard. The thread or rather cord used in weaving was spun from a very even and regularly out of "barkes of trees", linden-sinews or a kind of grass called Peminaw

A high degree of skill was attained in tanning hides and forming clothing out of them: such clothing is fre-

(1) In the American Anthropologist, 1, p. 241.

(2) See plate opp. p. 131 of Beverly's Hist. of Va.

(3) Smith's General History, B. 2, tr. 34, 235.

quently mentioned as "beautiful" by the early travellers and explorers. The Virginia Indians also attempted bridge-building. These, however, were very "poore", indeed they were so frail-looking that the English at first sight took them for traps laid for their destruction. (1)

The musical instruments of the Virginia Indians consisted of drums, pipes, flutes and rattles. Their drums were made of a deep platter of wood, over the mouth of which a square skin was stretched, and at each corner of this they would attach a valent "a" string. These four walnuts "fastning at the beek side near the bottom" they would twitch till the drum-membrane to which they were attached was "so taught and stiff", that they may beat upon it as a drumme". Their pipes were fashioned of thick reeds or canes, and their rattles of small gourds or pumpkin-shells: of these, says Smith, they had "Base, Tenor, Counter-tenor, Meane and Treble". (2)

The dance was perhaps the chief form of amusement among all North American Indians; nay, far from being merely an amusement, it was full of passionate and religious meaning. "Every occasion", says Mr. C.C. Jones, "was provocative of this amusement". and Tylor the Anthropologist, (3)

(1) Smith; Gen. Hist. bk. 4, p. 425

(2) Ibid. bk. 4, p. 338; Spelman p. CXIV; Beverley, p. 17

(3) Antiquities of the Southern Indians, p. 93

(4) Anthropology, p. 296.

informs us that "Savages and Barbarians dance their joy and sorrow, their love and hate, even their magic and religion"

To such an extent was this amusement carried that Mr. L.F.

(1)

Morgan informs us almost every North American tribe had

as many as twenty to thirty different modes of dancing, and the Virginia Indians formed no exception to this rule. Says

(2)

Spelman in general terms of the fashion of dancing in vogue among these Indians, "It was like the English Derbyshire horn-pipe, a man first, then a woman, and so through them all in a round, there is one which stands in the midst with a pipe and a rattle with which he begins to make a noise, all the rest swirle about wringing their neckes and stamping on the ground"-

One of their dances was performed in honor of stranger-guests. Strachey thus describes it:-

(3)

"one of them standeth y^e with some furre or leather tunic in his left hand, and sings with all as if he began the quier, and kept unto the rest their right time, when upon a certain strook or note (as upon his cue or time to come in) one riseth up and byginnes to daunce; after he hath daunced awhile, stepps forth another as if he came in just upon his rest

(1) Ancient Society, p.116; cf. Jones "Antiquities, etc. pp. 92-99 and 319-360.
(2) Relation of Mo. p. CXIV.
(3) Strachey, p. 11; Cf. p. 11, pp. 78, 79; Percy in Burrows IV, 1688 and following.

and with this order all of them so many a there be: one after another, who then dance at an equal distance from each other in a ring, shouting, howling, and stamping their feet against the ground that they sweat awayne, and with all variety of strong myetic tricks and distorted features making as confused a yell and noise as so many frantique and disquieted bachanells and sure they will keep stroak just with their feet to the tune he gives, and just one with another, but with the hands, feet and bodys, everyone hath a severall posture")

(1)

Expressive of sentiments of love and "alliance", corresponding in some degree, perhaps, to the modern opera, there was a voluptuous dance performed by the Indian ladies of Virginia. A dance of such a nature was that performed in honour of Captain Smith by Pocahontas and a bevy of "thirtie young Women"- a "Virginian Maske"- as Smith calls it -

Festivals and feasts had also their peculiar and characteristic style of dance. In this, the dancers forming themselves into a ring, moved around a circle of carved posts set up for that purpose, or else around a fire, built

(2)

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- (1) For a plate of such a dance see p. 37 of Strachey.
 (2) Generall Historie, bk. 2, p. 176; also in Beverley, Hist. of Va. pp. 176, 177.
 (3) Howe, Hist. Colls. of Va. p. 139 + alii.

at a convenient large place. The dances are held at night, and the favorite weapon is band. Having, then, dressed themselves up with bunches of trees, or some other strange accoutrement they would go on dancing in and out round the posts, singing a wild and outlandish refrain and accompanying it with all the antic postures conceivable, and he was the hero of the hour who could make the most extraordinary gestures.

(1)

Dances of a religious import, they had also; but a detailed description of such dances will not be necessary as they differ in but slight degree from those already described. Suffice it to say, then, that so great was their passion for this mode of expressing their feelings that in every Indian "town" there was what would correspond to the modern "Barman Hall". - Beverley was informed of this fact goes on to say "they have a fire made constantly every night at a convenient place in the town, whither all that have a mind to be merry at the public dance or music resort in the evening".-

(1)

As the Australians and New Zealanders, in fact all savage tribes have certain chants to express their exuberant feelings so also had the Victoria Indians their songs

-
- (1) See Purchas V, 333 where we have a description of "Ceremonies in Remembrance of the Dead"-
 (2) Beverley, p. 177

of a friendly, mocking, sportive or religious character. A marked feature of all these was the refrain. The occasion and subjects of such wild chants were various: in one, Okeas and the other gods are besought to plague the Tessantessus (i.e., the English) in another joy and exaltation is expressed at the death of their enemies. An example of one of this latter kind - the sole "Indian lyric" we have - is given in extenso by Strachey. Its refrain is peculiarly wild: one "verse" will give its general character:-

Watanew shashashowaw erawengo pebecome
Whe Tassa tassa inoshashawyehookan pocosuck.
Whe whe, yah haha nehe wittowa, wittowa.

Among their games, bandy was in especial favour.
(1)
Says Spelman: "They have beside foot-ball plays, which women and young boys doe much playe at, the men (more sensible than civilized ones are now) never. They make their Goules as ours only they never fight for pull one another downe. The men play with a little alle lettinge it fall out of the hand and striketh it with the tope of his foot, and he that can strike the ball the furthest wins that they pla. for"- While cards and dice were unknown, they did
(3)
have a game, Strachey informs us, "like priero wherein

(1) Strachey, p. 79.

(2) Relation of Virginia, p. CXIV-

(3) Priero = the modern Poker.

at this for their bows and arrows, their copper beads,
 (1)
 hatchets and their leather coats -

The frequent occurrence of discoidal stones in Virginia, which were used, as we know, only in the chuckle game assures us of the fact that such a game was practised by the Indians of this state; and, we are informed by Lawson (2) and Adair (3) that such a game was likewise highly popular among the Carolina Indians. Lawson describes this game as "carried on with a staff and a bowl made of stone, while they trundle upon a smooth place like a bowling-green made for that purpose"- Their "bowl" of stone was cast along the ground upon its edge like a wheel. This casting of the "bowl" was done by the participants in the game in one order. The Indian making the cast would follow the bowl on the run for a space, then stop and cast the staff as near the point at which he calculated it would stop as possible from its rate of motion. All who were in the game did likewise, and he whose staff came nearest the point at which the "bowl" stopped won the game: Betting, of course, was indulged in as to the result of the game.

(1) Strachey, p.79.

(2) History of Carolina, p.93.

(3) History of the American Indians, p.401 and following.

to fully a knowledge of the medicinal plants by inducing
(1)
to see them.

Persons who were afflicted with "fever" or "sweats"
by means of these "ceremonies" were treated for all ailments in one of five ways: (1) by sucking (if a wound or other inflammation) (2) by scarification (if an inflammation): (3) by cauterization (this was brought about by applying red-hot reeds to the seat of inflammation, which had been cooled as far as possible by the application of wet cloths); (4) by the administration of certain herbs, roots, bark or leaves either externally or internally to the patient, and finally (5) by the "sweating-system" of treatment. (3)
These Indians also possessed powerful antidotes against cattle-snake bites, some of these as given by Colonel M. Byrd are as follows:-

- (1)- Rattle-snake root or Star-grass, which "worked by Violent Sweat".
- (2)- St. Andrew's Cross; this was a "common remedy".
- (3)- Ipomeeana, which was called "Indian physic"
- (4)- Fern-root.

Among other herbs and roots frequently employed were

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- (1) Smith, Gen. Hist. Ark., pp. 334, 365.
 - (2) Cf. Jones, "Antiquities", 1
 - (3) Tenney, Hist. of Virginia, pp. 172-176.
 - (4) Byrd's Westover MSS. vol. 1, p.

the "Licence-men" are (1) the Cassia root, which is pounded together and mixed with Bear's oil; this served as an ointment, (2) Tapieh, a kind of earth of a medicinal quality, (3) Wissacan a sort of root, crushed and applied to wounds and (4) Sassafras, employed as a remedy for syphilis. Of these Wissacan and Picecen were the most esteemed (1)

medicines, but a decoction of cassine or ilex yupon was also highly popular both as a purgative and as an adjuvant (2) to the healthy action of mind and body. With regard to the

real value of the "physic" of the Virginia Indians, Mr. W. (3)

Moreau in a letter to the Bishop of Litchfield says that they "have the best secrets any Physician in Europe might have" and goes on to say that they had taught him how to cure any intermittent fever "in two days time"-

Every spring it was the custom of these Indians presumably to improve their health, to make themselves sick by (4) drinking the extract of the root wissocac with water. This acted in an exceedingly drastic manner as a purgative and general cleanser of the system, but so debilitating were its effects upon the system, that three or four days were necessary to recover from its action.

(1) Beverley, History of Va. p.172; Smith, Gen.Hist. p.136; Strachey, p.110; Mariot in Nat. iii. p.113.

(2) Howe's Hist. Coll's of Virginia, p.110; C.F. Jones, p.11

(3) Hist.Coll's. of Amer. Coll. C. 1744, p.30; cf. Jones "Antiquities" etc. P.44.

(4) Smith's Gen. Hist. Vol. i. p.136-137.

For Trobrianders, as elsewhere, to relieve fatigue a sort of "sweating-system" of treatment like the Russian bath was highly esteemed: and as evidence of their high regard for such treatment, a sweating-house and attendant physician was to be found in every town. The process is best described by Beverley as follows:

(1)
"The doctor takes three or four large stones, which after being heated red-hot, he places then in the middle of a stove, hanging on them some of the inner bark of oak beater in a mortar to keep them from burning. This being done, they creep in six or eight at a time, or as many as the place will hold and then close up the mouth of the stove, which is usually made like a oven, in some rock near the water-side. In the meantime, the doctor to raise a steam, after they have been standing a little while, pours cold water on the stones, and now and then sprinkles the inside to keep them from flaming. After they have sweat as long as they can well endure, they sally out one fourth with plums themselves over head and ears in cold water, which instantly closes up the pores, and preserves them from taking cold."

(2)

(1) Beverley, History of Va. pp. 170, 177.

(2) For a general discussion of medicine among the aborigines see Fernald's "Medicine of the Aborigines".

To cure swellings they made use of small pieces
 (1)
 of touchwood of the size and shape of cloves. These were
 inserted into the inflamed spot, then burnt to the flesh,
 from whence the pus or inflamed matter was sucked by the
 mouth of the physician. These physicians, however, or
 "medicine-men" who combined the functions of doctors (or
 conjurors) and priests made a much greater use of "charms
 to cure" than of medicine. "With their charms and Rattles,"
 says Smith, (2)
 says Smith, "and an infernal rout of words and actions they
 will seek to suck their (i.e., their patient's) inward
 griefe from their revells or their grieved places"- With
 regard to their knowledge, however, it is to be observed
 that they made a great secret of it, excusing themselves
 from divulging it on the plea that "their gods would be an-
 gry with them should they discover such and such part of"
 (3)
 their knowledge"-

It was, however, in their quality of seers and their
 acquaintance with the magic art that these "medicine-men"
 were especially prominent and influential; and, in this re-
 gard they are especially deserving of our attention. We
 are informed that Powhatan was "not nearly (slightly) jeal-

(1) Smith's Generall Historie, bk. 1, pp. 339-370.

(2) Smith, *ibid.* bk. 2, p. 370.

(3) Mariot in Auber's Edition of Capt. J. Smith, p. 322.

ous and careful" to their fall in accordance with the prophecies of his conjurer or priests, inasmuch as the war calculated to be subversive of his "Empire". One of these "prophecies" was to the effect that a nation should over the Chesapeake bay and utterly destroy the "Empire". In order to put an end to such dangerous prophecies the said "Emperour", Herod-like, exterminated" all such who might live under any doubtful construction of the said prophecies" - - "and so", says, Strachey, "remain all the Chesapeans to this day and for this cause extinct".

Another, however, of their prophecies was even more curious and interesting; indeed, to judge by the account of Strachey the accuracy with which it predicted events is not exceeded by any other oracle ancient or modern. "Writing about 1612, Strachey gives this interesting "prophecy" as follows: "That they should twice overthrow and dishearten the attemptors, and such strangers as should invade their territories and labor to settle a plantation among them, but the third time, they should themselves fall into subjection and under their conquest. It will be needless to remind the reader that such events as this "prophecy" - - - - -

(1) Strachey, History of a Traveller into Va. Britannia, 101

foretells, literally took place. The Indians did only too
early twice (in 1622, 1644) overthrow and dishearten their
English "attemptors", but the "third time" these very same
Indians certainly did "themselves fall in their subjection"
(1)
Traditions, also, almost equally peculiar those Indians had
which were preserved by the priests; but later than it will
be needless to inquire.

(1) Lloyd. Westover MSS. vol. 1. p. 175.

INDIAN IMPERIAL INSTITUTIONS, THE VIRGINIA INDIANS.

INDIA INDIANS.

(1)

Captain John Smith, who arrived in 1607, found the "Powhatan" (i.e., the "Yamacraw") people who had been at their present place of residence, with with respect to the authority of legislatures and obedience of people, that it excelled the government of any ^{other} ~~other~~ that would be called "civil". The form of this government

(2)

with its apparatus of "ackawances" "werowances" and "awcaw-wassoughes" etc., was hierarchical & ~~was~~ ^{was} imperial

(3)

type; for, says Strachey, "One Emperor reigned over many lords or werowances", representing his "Imperial Highness" throughout the country of "Amricomacah."

(4)

This "Emperor", a ruler of responsibility, is represented to the "Amricomacah" (i.e., "Great War Soldier") of the Iroquois, who lived to the early settlers of Virginia of the time of Powhatan. His authority was, however, over his own subjects and "Amricomacah". The extent of his dominion was wide and the number of his subjects large, con-

(5)

This "Emperor", a ruler of responsibility, is represented to the "Amricomacah" (i.e., "Great War Soldier") of the Iroquois, who lived to the early settlers of Virginia of the time of Powhatan. His authority was, however, over his own subjects and "Amricomacah". The extent of his dominion was wide and the number of his subjects large, con-

(7)

- (1) Gen. Hist. bk. 2, p. 375; Smith, op. cit.
- (2) See also "Amricomacah" a survival of this Indian word?
- (3) Strachey, op. cit.
- (4) Ibid. p. 47
- (5) Ibid. p. 47
- (6) See Smith, Gen. Hist. bk. 2, p. 375; supra, p. 47.
- (7) See Smith, op. cit. p. 47; Gen. Hist. bk. 2, p. 375.

sidering the sparse population of original North America.

(1)
On the south, it extended to the lands of Chowarocks and Mangroys (i.e. the present N.S. line); on the north, its furthest limit was the "pallisadoed town Tockwough at the bend of the Chesapeake Bay in latitude forty degrees: south west, a ten-day's journey was necessary to get beyond its limits to Anogeg. "whose houses" says Strachey (2) are built as ours"; to the west, the "empire" extended to the mountains; north-west, its limits were the bounds of the Nassawoweekes and "Bocootawwanoughs" - unfriendly nations; north-east, the greater part of the Eastern Shore Indians acknowledged his sway.

The "Emperor" Powhatan's chief places of residence were three; his chief and favourite one, when the English first came to Virginia, Werowococonoco was situated on the north side of the Pamunkey river some ten miles from Jamestown in the present county of Gloucester (4); but afterwards tired and disgusted at the encroachments of the English, the old Emperor left Werowococonoco and went to live at Cro-pakes, situated "in the deserts at the top of the river (5) Chicahomonia betweene Yaughtan and Powhatan" Another

(1) Strachey, 48

(2) Strachey, 47; following Smith, bk. 1, p. 375.

(3) Ibid. 47.

(4) Smith, p. 53. "Notes Upon Virginia" p. 11

favorite residence of his was Powhatan, a locality about a mile below where Richmond city now stands.

With reference to personal appearance, Powhatan is described by Strachey (1) as "a goodly old man and yet not shrincking, though well beaten with many cold and strong winters - - - supposed to be little lesse than eighty years old - - -, with gracie haire, but plaine and thin, hanging upon his broad sholders, some few haire upon his chin, and so on his upper lippe; he hath beene a strong and able halvadge, synowye, and of a daring spirit, vigilant, and industrius, subtle to enlarge his dominions; for, but the countreyes Powhatan, Arrohsteck, Appamatuck, Passinke, Moughtamunt and Mattapanient which are said to come unto him by inheritance, all the rest of his territoryes before named (2) and expressed in the mappe, and which are adjoining to that river whereon we are seated, they be apt to have beene either by force subdued unto him or through feare yielded; cruell hat he beeen and quarrellous".

Powhatan, then, to sum up, was remarkable as well for the strength and vigour of his body as for his energetic and ambitious mind. He was a conqueror - a savage type

(1) Ibid. p.47.

(2) See Smith's Map. in Arber.

of Caesar and like him, as I have previously said "sub-reguli".
He maintained an absolute rule over his subjects, and like
his "Royal Brother" James I. of England, held to the principles
of the "ius Divinum". His subjects called him "not
only a King, but as almost a divinity". In his person
he united the supreme executive, "legislative" and "judi-
cial powers. He maintained a savage state (1)
and had certain of the privileges of royalty. A guard of fifty or
sixty men watched over his personal safety day and night
regular days were appointed in which all his subjects plan-
ted and harvested his corn for him, laying it up in "bowser
apoyated for that purpose." The principal of these treas-
ure houses was situated about a mile from Orapakes in a
wood. It was fifty to sixty yards long and frequented only
by priests and in it was stored not only corn but all the
"imperial" treasures, viz., skins, copper, paint, beads,
arms of all kinds, etc. His wives were many; he had, says
Strachey, "a multiplicitie of women", two or more of whom
accompanied him on all occasions; his children likewise
were many. Strachey states that at the time he wrote Pow-
----- (6)

(1) See description of his royal magnificence in Smith
Gen. Hist., bk. 3, p. 405 and 399-400.

(2) Ibid. bk. 3, p. 376; Strachey, p. 51.

(3) 3rd Alman. Relation of Va. p. CXI.

(4) Smith, Gen. Hist. bk. 3, p. 376; Strachey, p. 5.

(5) See plate Powhatan surrounded by his "wives, from Captl
~~Smith's~~ Map. For names of wives see Strachey, p. 54.

(6) About 4-12.

...and "the", including "Winganske and Pocahontas"; ... of his wives as he "not tired of he bestowed upon his friends as doth the Turk."

Succession to the office of "Emperor" among the Virginia tribes was through the female line. (1)
The dignity descended from uncle to nephew or from brother to brother, e.g. Powhatan's dominions would descend not to any of his numerous sons or daughters, but to his brothers Opitchapan, Opechancanough and Kekataugh and their sisters. (2)

The empire of Powhatan for governmental purposes was made up of many subdivisions or "se-liers". (3)
Many of them corresponding to tribal or gentile divisions, some resulting from other causes - and the character of the authority exercised by the Emperor and his "sub-genuli" does not, so far as I can judge, present very marked differences from

(1) See Strachey, p.43; Smith, Gen. Hist. br. 2, p.273.(A) Beverley, Hist. of Va. p.170; Morgan's Inc. Soc., pp.153-158.

(2) Thomas Jefferson, however, thinks the office "was held in rotation (Notes on Va. p.212) but everything goes to show that it is not so. See Lawson, Hist. of Carolina p.195; Strachey, pp.63-68.

(3) Strachey, pp. 35-43.

that existing form of government of Southern Indians. Every town or village with its surrounding territory constituted a "shier", and these "shiers" of which there were about thirty-four, were comparatively independent save with regard to the "Emperor", who maintained his authority in them through his "potty verovances" or vice-parents.

There was a verovance or "sub-regulus" appointed for each "shier", and in it he maintained supreme authority, exercising the power of life and death over his subjects, but paying, at the same time, an exorbitant tribute in kind,

amounting as it did, as we are told, to eight tenths of all

(1)

their rude wealth. The territory was thus held, it would seem, on a sort of feudal tenure of the sovereign lord Powhatan;

and no such governmental institution as a "confederacy" at least in the general acceptation of the word, ex-

(2)

isted among the Virginia tribes; for, in every instance, we find the principle of cohesion among the elements of the so-called "confederacies" resulting from fear, not from a voluntary union of independant equals.

Land among the Virginia Indians was held in common,

each inhabitant of the different petty kingdoms having equal

(1) The names of these Verovances and the extent of their domains are given by Stracher, pp.56-63; Beverley, p.131; and Stith, p.64.

(2) Confederacy equals a union of sovereign states.

rights and control (civilization; private property, etc.). (1)
 in dwellings and gardens was conceded and protected by all.
 In case of the "shiers" the governmental machinery consisted
 of four functionaries, and viz. (a) cockarouse or sachem, the
 Werowance or war-leader, (c) the tribal council and (d) the
 priests; these must be described in order.

(2)

The cockarouse was the first man in dignity and influence in his "shier" or kingdom; he had also "the honor to be of the king or queen's council". One rendered worthy by experience and wisdom was invariably chosen to this high office by the voice of his fellow-tribesmen. (3)

He was the highest civil magistrate and had a "great share in administration", presiding as he did over the council ~~or~~ matchacomico of his kingdom, which frequently convened in the public square of the town. Next in governmental authority to the cockarouse ~~and~~ also a member of the grand Matchacomico of

(4)

Powhatan was the werowance or war-chief and leader in hunting and fishing expeditions. It was he that led the warriors in war, though in peace his authority was subordinate to that of the cockarouse; still he acted as an off-set to

(1) Bev. Hist. of Va. p.173; Archaeologia Americana, IV. p.61

(2) Bev. Hist. of Va. p.131; Smith's Gen. Hist. bk.2, p.377 Cf. the "Mico" of the So. tribes and La Son, p.195, and Jones' "Antiquities" p.11.

(3) This office was sometimes hereditary. See Morgan's "Ancient Society" p. 170-175.

(4) Beverley, p.179.

the power of the Emperor was maintained. His appointment was made by the "Emperor" at which is foreseen (as a usual thing).

There was always a place of council in every town, debating and regulating its individual affairs, and the grand general council house at Werowocomoco (~~"The Place of Council"~~) par excellence) which regulated matters of general concern to the whole empire. In its deliberations the most profound respect was shown to the "Emperor"; bows and genuflections occurred with startling frequency; a decoction of cassine or the ilex upon was drunk as a preliminary to solemn deliberations; ~~for~~ once a mixture was supposed to remove all hindrances to clear and exhaustive thought.

(1)

From De Bry we have a spirited sketch of the cockarouse and warriors in consultation.

Outside the matchaccmico the relation existing between the cockarouse and werowance on the one hand and the common on the other was free and unrestrained. These "chief men" were distinguished from the common herd only by a scalp-lock, they made their own tools and weapons and frequently worked in the fields with the rest. It was rarely that tyranny was exercised by them over their subjects; freedom even license was the rule. The terms of

(2)

(1) Brevis Narratio, pl.xxix.

(2) Stith, p.95.

such an institution as slavery, however, it was not the institution itself existed among the Virginia Indians; for Beverley (1) speaks of "people of a rank inferior to the commons a sort of servants - - - called black boyes attendant upon the gentry to do their servile offices". In the hands of the chief men was also the common store of the tribe; and (2) in their reception of brother werowances. These werowances, it should be well remembered, could enter into no measure of a public nature without the concurrence of the tribal matchasomico and the favourable opinion of the people at large. (3) When any matter was therein proposed it was the usual thing for a long consultation to take place between the chiefs and the priests or conjurors "their allies and nearest friends"; and a unanimous decision being reached, this was delivered to the people.

The sole-controlling influence that governed the counsels in the making of their "laws" was their innate sense of what was right, proper or expedient; consequently, the morality of their rulings was not high. We say rulings, for the Virginia Indians had no laws in the proper sense of that term as administered by a supreme authority and enforced by a police. Their only controlling influences were

(1) Beverley, p.179. see also Smith, Gen.Hist. bk.4, p.570.

(2) De Bry, pls. xxxvii, xxxviii, xxxix.

(3) Furke, Hist. Va. 3, pp.52,53.

(1)
 their "manners", their moral sense of right and wrong and that potent lever of society known as custom, fashion, public opinion, sense of honor or what-not. Offences were punished by contempt, exclusion from society and, in some instances, by condign punishment. The penalty, however, did not always "fit the crime," for the Virginia Indians had no written laws, but like the Spartans obeyed the sanction of unwritten custom handed down by their old men: that is to say, they were in the first of Sir H. Maine's stages of jurisprudential advance.

By way of recapitulation and summary, then, we may make the following statements in thesis form as to the organization of the "shier" or dominion of the sub-regula:

(2)

1. Each had a well-defined territory and a name- (2)
2. A few of them had a dialect peculiar to their "shier" (2)
3. Most probably the cockarouse was elected, the werow- (4)
 ance was appointed by the "Emperour"
4. Each "shier" had its religious rites, temples, and (5) -
 attendant priests and- (6)
5. And in each there was a council of old men presided over by the cockarouse.

(1) Jefferson, Notes, p.138; Stith, p.54; Force, 1,p.11.

(2) Strachey, ch.IV. Stith, Gen.Hist. bk.2, p.377.

(3) See supra, p.147.

(4) Strachey, p.37, et seq; Norton, pp.112-121; Jones, Ant.

(5) Strachey, p.32.

(6) Beverley, ch. 173,179; Jones, Pres.State of Va.1.8.

In order to give a better conception of the duties of warowance and cockarouse, I have from a study both of the original authorities and of the customs of the kindred tribes gathered, ~~to~~ ^{to} give a list of the duties of each office.

The cockarouse of the Virginia tribes, then, corresponding to the Ha-gar-na-go-war ⁽¹⁾ of the Iroquois, had the following specific duties and privileges:-

- (1) 1- The first fruits were assigned him;
- (2) 2- He had charge of all public and private concerns;
- (3) 3- He presided at the tribal council, and was a delegate to the Imperial Council;
- 4- His office was for life or during good behavior.
- (4) 5- His office was elective, though sometimes hereditary-
- 6- Females were eligible to the office of Cockarouse-
- 7- Succession was always in the female line
- 8- There might be several cockarouses to each tribe

(1) See Morgan: Inc. Society, p. 51; Strachey, p. 51; Jones' "Antiquities" p. 12.

(2) Beverley, p. 179-

(3) Strachey, pp. 57-63; Rev

(4) See Morgan, Ancient Soc. p. 179 Strachey, pp. 57-63. *Smith mentions warowance Queen*
Harriet Smith, Strachey

(7) ...

The duties and privileges of the werowance, corresponding as he did in most respects to the Ha-sa-no-wa-no ("elevated Prince") of the Iroquois, were about as follows:-

- 1- He led the warriors in war, having charge of
(1)
all military affairs- (2)
- 2- He had the power of life and death (3)
- 3- He was appointed by the "Emperour"
- 4- He was the vice-governor of the "Emperour" and as
Imperial legate (cf. Roman proconsul) kept the
(4)
people in subjection
- 5- He collected and paid tribute (- 2/10 of all
(5)
their possessions) to the "Emperour"-
- 6- He presided over the council of the "Shier" in
(6)
the absence of the cockarouse - to whom he as a
general rule held a subordinate position; but
(7)
- 7- He declared war, and (8)
- 8- Maintained a rude state-
The priests also played a large part in Indian af-
fairs. Before every expedition and in all deliberations,
(9)
he was consulted, and never did the werowance determine

- (1) Beverley, p.179; Strachey, p. 100.
- (2) Smith, Gen. Hist. bk. 1, p.377-----
- (3) Implied by Strachey, p.57-
- (4) Most probably the case judging from Strachey's account.
- (5) Strachey, p.61
- (6) A power implied in the conception of the office -
- (7) A power implied by his authority over military affairs
- (8) See acc'ts of such "state" in Smith, Percy, Strachey, etc
- (9) Strachey, p.61; Smith, Gen.Hist. bk.2, p.

upon a hostile expedition without his sanction; for, he it was who, like the augur at Rome, could look into the future and foretell the prosperous or unfortunate issue of a campaign. His chief functions have been ^{outlined} ~~summed up~~ below. (1)

Of the General Council or Matchaconico of Powhatan, which may be designated the congress or legislature of the "Confederacy", we can with full confidence make the following statements in ~~thesis form~~:-

(1) It was composed of the cockarouses, priests, etc. of the subject tribes, ⁽²⁾
called

(2) It had the chief authority over the "Confederacy" in conjunction with the "Emperour" ⁽³⁾
⁽⁴⁾

(3) It was open to popular influence, ⁽⁵⁾ for it was ^{a-} called together by people, ^{b-} under circumstances known to all, ^{c-} open to every one;

(4) It was presided over by Powhatan; ⁽⁶⁾

(5) It was, for the most part an advisory body;

(6) It declared war and made peace according to the Emperour's will;

(1) See in ~~va pp.~~ 187, 188.

(2) See Hugh Jones' Present State of Va. p. 3

(3) Implied in Smith's Gen. Hist. bk. 3, p. 400-

(4) Beverley, Hist. of Va. p. 150-

(5) Smith's Gen. Hist. bk. 3, p. 450-

(6) Hugh Jones' Present State of Va., p. 12-

(7) (see note on next page)



- (1) It conducted all "foreign relations" ;
 (2) Its action had always to be unanimous ;
 (3) It managed general domestic affairs &

The councils of the "Shiers" or petty kingdoms corresponded as a general rule to that of the "Empire" *mutatis mutandis* - "Whatever may have been the good government exercised by such petty chiefs over their territories, the "Emperour" certainly governed in an exceedingly tyrannical manner, if we may trust our authorities. "What he (*i.e.*, the "Emperour" Powhatan) commanded," we are told, they dared not disobey; "for at his feete they will present whatever he commandeth, and at the least froune of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with fear"-

From what has been already said, then, and a careful study and examination both of the structure and character of the so-called Powhatan "Confederacy" from the original authorities and a comparison with kindred tribes such as the Cherokees on the south and the Iroquois on the north, we shall be perfectly justified in stating the main characteristics of the "Confederacy" as follows:-

1- It was a union of thirty or more tribes or gentes;

- (1) Powers exercised by every general Indian council, see
 (2) Morgan, *Acct. Soc.* pp. 127-130; Jones; Schoolcraft; see also
 (3) ~~acc'ts of Smith, Beverley & Strachey~~
 (4) These (*i.e.*, the worowances) says Archer, "ave their subjects at so quick command, as a obedi-
 ence, even to the restitution of stolen goods; *Acct. Amer. Ind.* 40-50.

and this union was the result of conquest in the true
(1)
Roman style of trickery and stratagem.

- 2- There was a general council of the Confederacy,
meeting at one of the three favorite residences of
(2)
Powhatan-
- 3- There were also councils meeting in each "Stier" or
(3)
tribe -
- 4- The tribes, "shiers" or "kingdoms" did not all oc-
cupy positions of entire equality among themselves,
e.g., Mattapamieut, Arrohatoek, Touchtamund and Ap-
panatuck, Pumankey and Powhatan were the governing
tribes, while the other "tribes" occupied relations
subordinate to them, just as in old Rome the tribes
of Latium lorded it over the rest of the world, gov-
erning therein by proconsuls ~~or~~ ⁽⁴⁾ ~~verevances~~.
- 5- The individual government of every "province" or
tribe was carried on by the verovances save in the
case of the Chickahominy tribes, which was governed
(5) ⁴
by Elders.
- 6- The cohesive principle of the "Confederacy" was the
common fear of the absolute despot - Powhatan, their

(1) See Stracker, pp. 5-13; Smith

(2) See Smith, Gen. Hist. bk. , p.400

(3) See Jones, Present State of Va.

(4) Stracker (pp. 14-13) would seem to imply this

(5) Stracker, pp. 11, 12.

(1)
conqueror.

- 7- The werowances were, in most instances, the deputies or vice-gerents of Powhatan, his children or friends whom he would substitute for rebellious or conquered

(2)
chiefs -

- 8- All these tribes paid an exorbitant tribute of 8/10 of all their wealth for the privilege of retaining to some degree at least, their separate governments

(3)
and native sachems.

- 9- There was no "Salic Law" in Ancient Virginia. Women were frequently advanced to the office of "cockarouse" and attended the Grand Matchaconics.

(4)

- 10- The Grand Matchaconics met upon occasions of public necessity (e.g. ~~in~~ in the Matchaconico House at Werowocomoco or Pamunkey. It was called together by certain prescribed forms, and had a regular system

(5)
of parliamentary rules.

- 11- There was a council-fire of the whole "Confederacy". and two divisions formed in line on each side of the fire, while the "Emperor" sat at one end and pre-

(1) Smith, Gen. Hist. bk.2, p.377-

(2) Strachey, pp. 53,57,50,52 -

(3) Strachey, p.151

(4) Ibid. p.52: "Okolase, queene of Coraco hanatke" and "Opussopuioniske - - - a werowanage of - - - Appamatuck"

(5) For the manner of ~~the~~ see Strachey, p.100,101: infra p.112

sided. On such occasions unanimity was always requisite for the passage of any measure; freedom of speech under certain rules was allowed, and frequently great eloquence was displayed.

(1)

played.

12- The influence of the priests was enormous in the government of the "confederacy" and its constituents.

and everyone followed implicitly whatever the priest

(2)

advised.

These twelve theses embody almost all that can be learned concerning the nature of the "confederacy" of Powhatan; and much the same remarks will apply to the Nanakin

(3)

and Mannahoack "confederacy", whose form of government was most possibly similar if not identical with that of their

kinsmen the Iroquois, with whom they a century or so later

(4)

united.

"In Indian Ethnography", says Mr. L. H. Morgan, "the subjects of primary importance are the gens, phratry, tribe and confederacy". The gens, from certain hints thrown out

(5)

by Harriot and other writers, we are assured existed in

Virginia, and our assumption is put beyond a shadow of

doubt by the fact that a study of all the closely related

Algonkin tribes reveals in every case a division into

(1) See plate in Smith's Map, also opp.p.58 of Strachey.

(2) Smith's Gen. Hist. bk.2, p.492.

(3) Smith's "History of Virginia", pp. 70,72.

(4) Under name of Tuscarora (7 shirt-wearing people)

(5) (over)

gentes, and usually those of the (I) Wolf, (II) Turkey and (III) Tuttle. Our knowledge, however, in this regard is so very meagre, that we can assert nothing definitely. Nor can we assert anything more definite with respect to the phratry (1) — as an organization of the Virginia tribes, though it must certainly have existed. As to the nature of Virginia tribes which are constantly spoken of by old writers, it should be noted that while real tribes existed in Virginia, there were not nearly so many as we might infer and there is a total looseness in the way the term tribe has been used, for in many cases it has certainly been confused with what should more properly be termed gens or phratry. (2)

In conclusion we should say that the existence of any such thing as a "confederacy" (in any true sense of the term) is not warranted by the facts of the case, and has been shown to be erroneous by the discussion above, for even the ludicrously misplaced term "empire" is preferable and indeed more accurate in describing Powhatan's power, though such a use of the term is clearly a travesty upon Imperialism generally.

Then, in addition to our knowledge of the internal

(note (3) on previous page) Harriot, in Pubs. of Amer. Bureau of Ethnology for 1889. p.393 et seq.; Smith's Gen.Hist bk.4, p.570.

(1) Phratry, see Morgan's Amer. Soc. pp. 84-102.

(2) Ancient Soc. p.147

structure of society, we add a knowledge of the tenure and functions of the sachem and chief, the functions of the council of chief-man and the duties of the war-chief (all of which has been attempted above), all that can be done is complete, and the structure and principles of their govern-
(1)

mental system will be known. This is in some form the statement of that great authority upon such questions - Mr. L. H. Morgan; and such has been attempted with regard to the Virginia Indians. It must be admitted, however, that the data are so vague that little very satisfactory can result from any study, save by aid of the comparative method, of which of course I have availed myself.

~~As has been already seen, there were few fixed pen-~~
~~alties for crime in Virginia; the will of the "petty kings"~~
~~was law in most cases; and so the punishment varied accord-~~
~~ing to the humour of the chief. Certain forms of punish-~~
~~ment were, however, employed. We are informed that some-~~
~~times culprits were bound hand and foot and cast into a~~
~~great bed of live coals, and then left to burn to death:~~
~~again, at another time, the head of the criminal being pla-~~
~~ced upon a stone or altar was crushed to pieces by clubs,~~
~~which were wielded by stout savages. In the case of a hei-~~

(1) Ancient Society, p.148.

nous crime, the offender was bound to a tree, while the executioner would cut off his joints one by one, casting them into the fire; then, with shales or reeds, this same functionary would tear off the skin from his face and head, after which, the poor wretch was disembowelled and burnt to ashes.
(1)

Capital punishment was meted out in the presence of the chief and his councillors seated in a semicircle, "the victim kneeling in the centre, and the executioner, his left hand upon the back of the criminal, with a stout, paddle-shaped club made of hard wood, striking him upon the top of the head with such violence as to split the skull".
(2)

The most cruel and common punishment, however, was to beat with "cudgells" as the "Turkes doe". "We have seene".
(3)

says Smith, "a man kneeling on his knees and at Powhatan's command, two men have beat him on the bare skin, till he hath fallen senseless in a swoond, and yet never cry or complained".
(4)

For the crime of adultery, Powhatan, we are told, made one of his wives set upon a stone - - - nine days and allowed her food during that time only three times

(1) Smith's Gen. Hist. bk.2, p.377; Map of Va. pp.31,32.

(2) Jones' Antiquities of the So. Inds. p.13

(3) Strachey. p.52; Smith's Gen.Hist. bk.2, pp.377,378.

(4) Smith's Gen. Hist. bk.2, p.378.

(5) ibid.

(1) (2)

though he loved her dearly". Says the Rev. Hugh Jones in this regard : "They punish adultery in a woman by cutting off her Hair which they fix upon a long pole without the Town; which is such a Disgrace that the Party is obliged to fly and becomes a Victim to some Enemy, a Slave to some Rover or perishes in the Woods - - - I have been told they have some capital Punishments". The same authority informs us that the lex talionis was recognized to its fullest extent in Virginia, and gives a concrete case illustrating its force.

(3)

(4)

Henry Spelman gives us several points on the "justis" (i.e., the punishment of crime) among the Virginia Indians. He says: "~~When~~ When I saw some put to death I asked the cause of their offence, for at the time that I was with ye Patowecke I saw 5 executed; 4 for the murder of a child(id est) ye mother and two other that did the fact with her and a 4 for conscaling it as he passed by beinge bribed to hauld his peace - And one for robbinge a traveler of coper and beades for to steale ther neighbors corne or copper is death or to lye with another's wife is death if he be taken in the maner."

-
- (1) Smith's Gen. Hist. bk.3, p.337.
 - (2) Present State of Virginia, p. 16.
 - (3) Present State of Virginia, p.12.
 - (4) Spelman's Relation of Va. pp. C",CXI.

As a punishment for murder we are informed by Spelman (1) that they "were beaten with Staves till their bones were broken and beinge alive were flange into the fier"; and for robbery the manner of punishment was to be "knowckt on the heade and beinge deade" to have "their bodye burnt".

Before a war was undertaken, the king always summoned (2) his great men or werowances to attend the council, (-Matchocomico)- At these assemblies, whenever a war is expected, 'twas the custom of the young braves to paint themselves black, red or parti-colored (e.g. ~~making~~ half the face red, half black or white with great circles of different hues around the eyes), to don monstrous moustaches and to decorate the body as fantastically as possible. While this paint was yet damp upon their bodies, they would dip themselves in piles of different sized and coloured feathers: these feathers would, of course, adhere to them and ~~would~~ give them a peculiarly terrific appearance. Thus bizarre and bedizened they would rush furiously into the matchacomico and begin the war-dance. Accompanying their steps with fierce gestures expressive of their insatiate

(1) *ibid.*, p.CXI.

(2) Strachey (p.100) thus describes the manner of Summons: "An officer is dispatched away, who cominge into the townes or other wise meetinge such whom he hath to order to warre, striketh them over the back a sound blow with a bastinado and bidds them be ready to serve the great kinge - - -"

love of vengeance, they would describe the mode in which they intended to surprise, ~~would~~, kill and scalp their enemies, and finally, they would conclude the performance by recounting the past exploits and the ancient glories of their families. After having been decided upon by the Matchacomico, war was declared by different ceremonies. (1)

briefly Their proficiency in ~~the~~ *warfare* ~~arte militaire~~ and its accompaniments will be best shown by several *illustrations* ~~theses~~:

- (1) They had officers, e.g., "Capitaine", "Lieutenant",
(2) "Serient"- ,
- (2) They employed various tactical orders in battle, e.g., "square order", Quincuncial order, "halfe-moone order", etc:-
(3)
- (3) They knew the benefits of reserve forces (5)
- (4) The warriors painted, and made "hideous noyse" in battle -
(5)
- (5) Their weapons were bows, arrows, clubs, battle-axes, swords, shields, etc., etc.
(6)

(1) "Previs Narratio", pl. xxxiii.

(2 3 4 5) See Smith, Gen. Hist. bk.2, p.368; Map of Va. pp. 72,73.

(6) See Supra p. 67, 72.

13

11

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(6) They had a sort of military music:- ⁽¹⁾

- a - Drums,
- b - pipes,
- c - rattles, and
- d - their own "discordant voices".

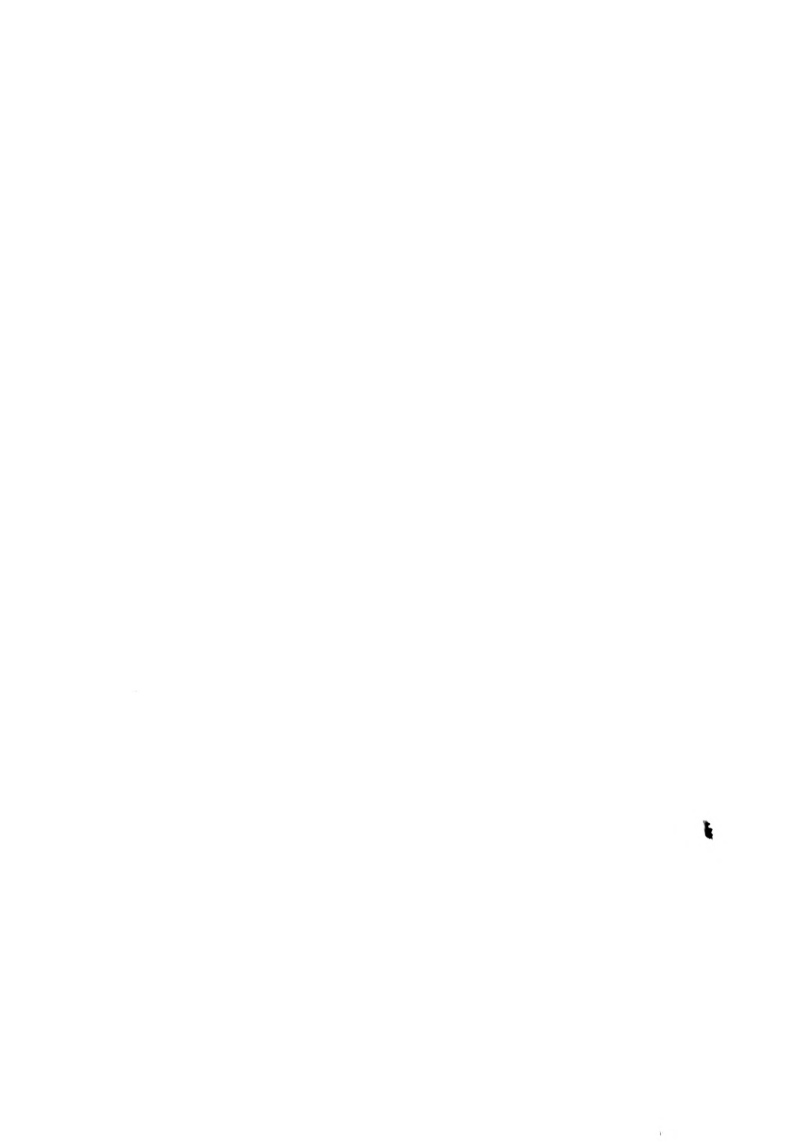
(7) War was carried on, just as among the other North American Indian tribes, by cunning, ruse, deception, "Ambuscadoes", etc. The Virginia Indian presents ^{(1) (2)} no marked peculiarity in this regard. ⁽²⁾ We are told, that their custom was never to fight in the open fields, but among reeds or from behind trees, slipping out for an instant to discharge ~~that~~ arrows and as rapidly disappearing under covert to fix their arrows upon the string.

(9) In war, they were merciless and blood-thirsty; prisoners were saved only for a death by slow torture, for, they feared that, should they allow any of their vanquished enemies to live, such an one would avenge himself upon them: ~~as a consequence of~~ such suspicions they slew men,

women and children without mercy. The treatment of the vanquished in war is well described by Captain Smith in his account of Powhatan's expedition to Panketank in the

(1) See *Supra* p. 11

(2) Spelman's Relation of Va., pp. CXIII, CXIV.
Archer, in *Archaeologia Americana*, IV, pp. 40-65; Smith, *Op.* 2, p. 22, etc.



year 1608. Having previously sent some of his men to lodge with these Pyanketanks for the night, Powhatan sent other warriors to surround their wigwams; and, at a given time, these all fell simultaneously upon the enemy, sacking and destroying their habitations. Most of the victims were slain, and "the long hair of the one side of the heads with the skin cased off with shells and reeds they brought

(1)
away". The men, women and children who were saved alive were presented to Powhatan and became his slaves; and, as a trophy, the scalps of the slain warriors were hung upon a line between two trees.

(9) Besides assemblies for consultation at the beginning of hostilities, the Virginia Indians also employed formal embassies for treating and ceremonious methods of concluding peace (e.g. burying the tomahawk, raising stone-heaps, etc.)

(10) Triumphs and triumphal processions were also popular among the Virginia Indians. As in Ancient Rome, the successful Indian Chief was welcomed on his return home with processions and rejoicings.

The wars of these "Virginians" were by no means few, and were waged, as a general thing, not for lands and goods

(1) Smith, Gen. Hist. bk.2, pp. 377,378.

(2) Beverley, Hist. of Va. p.151.

(3) Ibid. p.150; Smith supposed this nation to be ^{Ac} Iroquois p. 67.

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but for women and revenge. They were carried on, for the most part, against the nations inhabiting the "westerly Country" beyond the mountains or at the head of the ravines (1) - the Massawomecks, and in a lesser degree the Manakins and the Mannahocks - These Massawomeckes, according to (2) Strachey, dwelt beyond the mountains "From whence is the head of the river Potowomeck - - - upon a great salt-water which may be some part of Canada, some great lake or some inlet of the Sea, and may fall into the western ocean- - - These Massawomeckes are a great nation and very populous, for the inhabitants of the head of all the rivers especially the Patowomeckes, the Pawtuxents, the Susquehanoughs, the Tockwoughs - - - are constantly harassed and frightened by them, of whom the said people greatly complained"- So greatly, indeed, did these Massawomecks harass and destroy the tribes nearest them that we are told they offered "food, conduct, assistance and continuall subjection" to the English if they would protect them from their dreaded foes. (3)

In the ordinary relations of one werowance with another much ceremonious formality and scrupulous politeness is to be noted - their hospitality was in more than one

(1) Smith's Gen. Hist. bk.2, p.367. et alii

(2) Strachey, .104 ~~and~~ p.10

(3) Smith's Gen. Hist. bk.2. p.377.

sense truly "Old Virginian". On the news of the approach
 (1)
 of a famous guest, the king or queen with their retinue
 would march out of their town to meet him, carrying with
 them all the provision they could think of for his accom-
 modation. The first thing that occurred upon the meeting
 (2)
 of the friends was smoking of the peace-pipe ; a custom
 common to all North American Indians ; the sanctity of
 which none would violate. After this preliminary, and tak-
 ing their seats right opposite one another, each in turn,
 hosts and guests would make speeches, accompanied with such
 gestures and contortions of the whole body that they would
 all break into a ~~most~~ violent perspiration, and become so
 breathless as not to be able to speak above a whisper. In-
 deed such was the extravagance of their actions that one
 ignorant of their customs would have inferred that they
 were utterly crazed. A dance of welcome was the next thing
 in order; then refreshments were brought forth and indulged
 in till bed-time came, when the happy guests would be led
 to their quarters, and there welcomed by "two of the most
 beautiful Virgins of the town"-

-
- (2) The peace-pipe was a safe-conduct, a pass^{port}, and a
 badge of the legislative office. See Beverley, pp.
 140-145 ; cf. Longfellow's Hiawatha.
 (1) Beverley, Hist. of Va. pp. 143-148.

In the great matchacomico of the nation, such gravity and dignity were observed as would not have disgraced the Roman Senate in its palmyest days. Nor was the impressiveness or solemnity of such assemblages due to any grandeur of architecture or elegance of costume, for the council house was generally but the ordinary "long house" and the councillors but dirty savages wrapped in equally dirty skins and blankets. The effect was produced solely and exclusively by the order, decorum and eloquence then displayed.

(1)
ed. One instance of the strict maintenance of such order and decorum is well illustrated by an instance recorded in (2) the pages of Beverley. It occurred during Bacon's Rebellion when a deputation of Indians was sent to treat with the English in New Kent county. While a speaker was addressing the assembly, one of his companions interrupted him, whereupon the Indian who was speaking immediately snatched his tomahawk from his belt and split the head of his daring friend. "The Indian", says Beverley, "dying immediately upon the spot, he commanded some of his men to carry him out and went on again as unconcernedly as if nothing had happened".

(1) See Speeches of Ochaning, Powhatan, Tomocomoco and others in Smith, Strachey et alii.

(2) Beverley, pp. 178, 179.

By way of summary, then, and to emphasize the statements already made, it may be said that primarily the political organization and governmental machinery of the Virginia Indians was, comparatively speaking, both crude and imperfect. The different so-called "kingdoms" (i.e., the "Shiers") though theoretically governed by the cockarouse in time of peace, and the werowance in time of war, were practically little democracies, wherein the "governors" held but little authority. The principal power was in the hands of the "old men" of the tribe, yet even such "jurisdiction" as they possessed was but slight, for any one could refuse to obey its rulings who pleased.

But when the "Emperor" Powhatan arose and conquered all his neighbors, forming them into subject "provinces", a different state of affairs presents itself. The chief and absolute power now fell into his hands; and, by fear of him and his deputies & the werowances, the whole "empire" was held together. And such "fear" must have been a strong cohesive principle, for during some forty years (circa 1607-1647), the Virginia Indians under the sway of the Powhatan (1) dynasty presented an unbroken and united front against

-
- (1) The Powhatan dynasty consisted of the following rulers
- 1+ Powhatan (circa 1595-1618);
 - 2+ Otatiatan (1618-1622);
 - 3+ Opechancanough (1622-1645);
 - 4+ Necottowance (1645-1650/??).

the encroachments of their English neighbors, and on two occasions (1622, 1644) brought them to the brink of destruction. The influence exerted by the Indians upon the early Colonists of Virginia was, then, remarkable, and is, to say the least, comparable to that exercised upon their white neighbors by the Iroquois of New York or the Muscogulgees of the South. It should be distinctly recognized, however, that the power wielded and influence exerted by the Virginia Indians was due to the energy and ability of their rulers, rather than to their form of government. On the other hand, ~~however~~ the government of the Iroquois and the Muscogulgees was quite well developed, and to this fact, not to the special prominence of any one man, are their successes against their white neighbors to be attributed. We should say then, in conclusion, that all governmental ideas among the Virginia Indians were comparatively speaking rather vague and ill defined.

Chapter V.

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND BELIEFS.

In their religion, ~~if we are to believe the reports~~ of the old chroniclers, the Virginia Indians were extremely superstitious and idolatrous. ~~Not~~ ⁽¹⁾ was there any exception to this rule. "There is yet in Virginia", says Smith, "no place discovered to be so savage in which they have not a Religion, ~~Doors and Bowes and Arrows~~". Every one of the territories governed by a werowance possessed its temple or temples and priests or "Quipoughcosucks", who we are told, ⁽²⁾ was "no lesse honoured than was Danae's priest at Ephesus". In most cases large (frequently 20 yards broad by a hundred long), these private temples had their entrances always towards the east, while at the west end was a sort of chancel "with hollow wyndings and pillars whereon stand divers blacke imagies, fashioned to the shoulders, with their faces looking downe the church and waere wth in the werowances lye buried - - - and under them in a vault low in the ground, veiled in a matte sitte their ~~Oken~~ ^{Okon}, an image ill-favouredly carved, all black dressed, with chaynes of

(1) Smith, Gen. Hist. bk.2, p.570; Map. of Va. p.74

(2) Strachey, pp. 82, 83.

(1)
people, the presentment and figure of that God". (i.e.,
Okons).

According to the best accounts the belief of the
Virginia Indians was a species of dualism, in which, howev-
er, the evil principle received all the worship to the ex-
clusion of the good god 7 Ahone (2) who, in the Indian log-
ic, did not require to be placated, "because from his good-
ness he will do no harm"- It was, then, only this Okons,
Quiocoos, or Kiwasa, the "Devill" (3) who was really feared,
for he it was who punished "them (as they thinke) with
sicknesses, stirs up the river, and makes their women false
to them" (4) and who, says Cooke, "was a god that sucked the
blood of children - sufficient description!" This dualis-
tic belief of the Virginia Indians is well illustrated by
the Historian Beverley (5) in a conversation he had with an
Indian whom he "made much of" and plied with "plenty of
strong cider" to bring him to the point of confidential
communication.

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- (1) Quiquoughcosucks - witches says Whitaker. Neill's
Virginia Company of London, pp. 278, 279.
(2) Strachey, p. 83 and Father White's "Relatio" p. 41.
(3) Smith's Gen. Hist. bk. 3, p. 370 & Neill's Va. Co. of London.
p. 278
(4) Strachey, p. 82.
(5) Cooke, p. 30.
(6) Beverley Hist. of Va. p. 156, 157.

From this Indian he first gained some valuable information concerning the idea of God among the Virginia Indians:-

- 1- That He was universally beneficent;
- 2- That His dwelling was in the heavens, though his good influences pervaded and ruled the whole earth;
- 3- That he is incomprehensible in excellence, enjoyed supreme felicity; and
- 4- That he is eternal, boundless in perfection, and in possession of everlasting indolence and ease.

After learning so much, Beverley made the pertinent inquiry as to why, having such a god as this, the Indians should worship the Devil. The Indian answered that it was true that God is the giver of all good things, but they flow naturally and promiscuously from him and are showered upon all men without distinction;- he does not care about the affairs of men nor is concerned with what they do, but lives apart; consequently there is no necessity to fear or worship him. On the contrary, if they did not propitiate the evil spirit, the Indian went on to state, he would "in a certain and inevitable way ruin them, for the evil spirit was ever active in thunders and storms" (cf- Prince of the

Power of the Air in the N.T.)=

The temples of this god of evil, Okce were called Quioccosan, and were surrounded by circles of posts, on which were covered ^{man faces} man faces; these posts being also highly sacred by the Virginia Indians. In architecture, these "temples" were similar to other Indian cabins, ^{save in their} ~~great size~~; that is to say, they were "fashioned arbourwise after their building" but had no roof to serve as a vent for smoke. In their interior arrangements they were very dismal and dark; ^{or} about ten feet ^{high} ~~wide~~ cut off by a partition of close mats; this was the place of extreme sanctity -

(1)

Beverley describes the results of a surreptitious visit made by himself and some of his friends to one of these buildings to gain information concerning them. He found in such a place certain shelves and upon them various mats.

Each of which was rolled up and sewed fast; - - In one of these he found some great bones; - - - in another some Indian tomahawks; - - -. There was also found ~~here~~ "something which we took to be their idoll. It wanted piecing together" When set up, it would represent an idol of wood, evil-favouredly carved - the Okee, Quioccos or Kiwasa of Smith, who also gives it as his opinion that this god was none

(1) Beverley, Hist. of Va. p.152,153,154,155 -

1

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(1)

other than the "Deville" himself.

(2)

The historian Burke, however, does not believe that Smith, Beverley and Strachey are implicitly to be believed on in the above description of Okee. His opinion is that, had ^{there been} ~~such had~~ any foundation in fact, some traces ^{of the} ~~would~~ assuredly have been found among the neighboring or kindred tribes who, later migrated west. Beverley, however, with regard to the idea held concerning the Okee says, "they (i.e., the Indians) do not look upon it as one being; but reckon there are many of the same nature"; and he goes on to state that ~~they~~ like the Greeks, believed there were tutelary deities in every town". By such statements as these

(3)

Beverley unconsciously proves that his report is correct;

- (1) See pl. xxi. of De Bry in "Brevis Narratio". The explanation of the plate is as follows: "Idolum habent huius regionis incolae Kiwasa appellatum, e ligno trunculo elaboratum, quatuor pedes altum cuius caput Floridae incolarum capita refert; facies carnea colore depicta est, rectus albo, reliqua corpus nigro, crura etiam pictura alba variegata; collo torques pendentes sphaerulis albis constantes, quibus intermixtae sunt, aliae teretes ex aere, magis ab illis aestimatis, quam aureum vel argentum. - - Rina interdum habent in templis cuiusmodi idola, nonnunquam tria, non plura placet obscuro loco sunt reposita, horrenda apparent."

See also Purchas. V. 343.

- (2) Burke, Hist. of Va. III. pp. 57, 58. S
(3) Beverley, Hist. of Va. p. 153.
(4) Ford, Hist. of the Dividing Line in Westover MSS. vol. 1. p. 105

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But the word, when explanation is given, becomes "baki" or "oki" - the Algonkins justify "superior" - the Latin signifies primarily "above" and so "closer to the shore", (1)

(1) In other words the religion of the Virginia Indians was a polytheistic development of Sky-worship.

(2)

Strachey gives quite an account of the tenets of the Indians dwelling near the Potomac river. He says that in the year 1610 about Christmas, Captain Argall was trading with Japowaws "King of Potowomecke" and one day, when the vessel was lying at anchor before one of the Indian towns of those parts, "King Japowaws came on board. While sitting before the fire on board the ship the conversation happening to turn upon religion and the creation of the world; the "King" through Spelman as interpreter gave Argall and his companions a account of such customs of the Indians as follows:

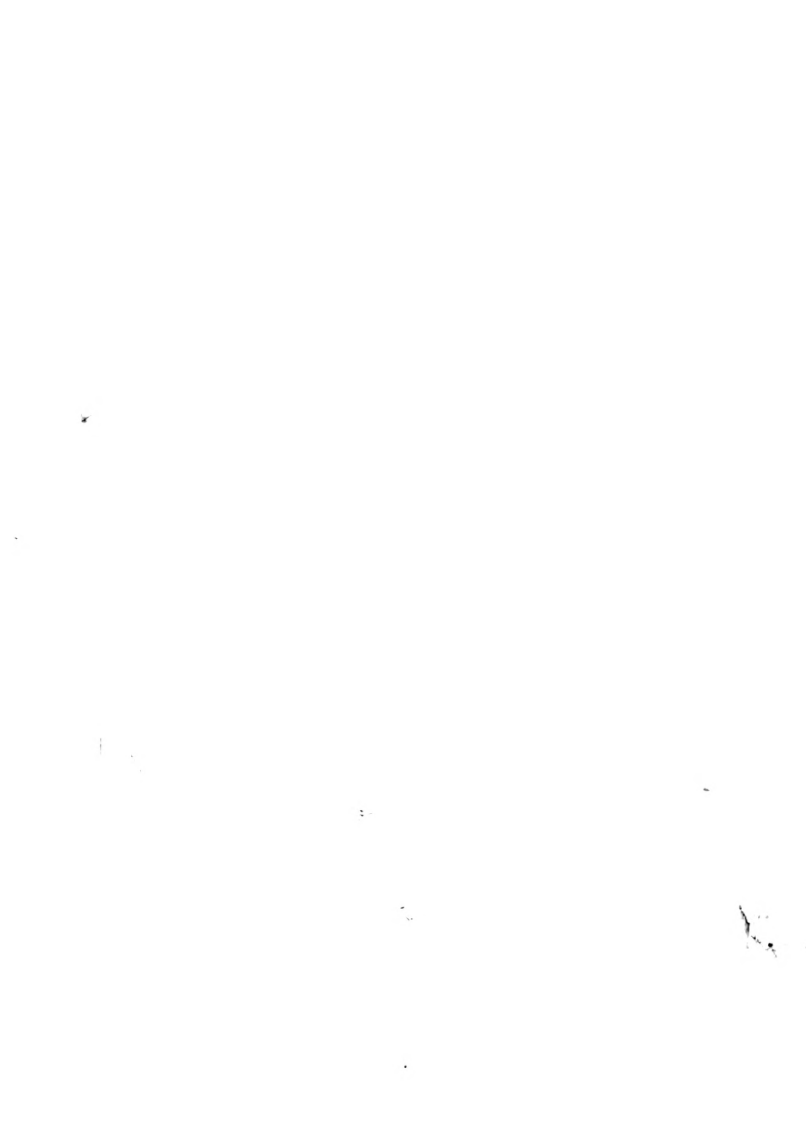
"We have," (said he) five gods in all: our chief god appears often unto us in the likeness of a mighty great are: the other four have no visible shape, but are indeed the four winds which keepe the foure quarters of the earth. Our god, who takes upon himself the shape of a

man, conceived with himself how to peopel this great world

(1) See Brinton's *Myths*, etc. pp. 47, 48.

(2) See *ibid.* pp. 97-101.

(3) The names of these "four winds" (i.e. four quarters) were "Wabun, Uman, Kailisok and Kawanok". The names of the four winds are given in the original text of the *Virginia* edition.



and with what-kind of creatures, and yt is true (said he) that at length he devised and made divers men and women and made provision for them, to be kept up awhile in a great bag. Now there were certayne spirits, which he described to be like great geants which came to the haves dwelling place (being toward the rising of the sun) and had perseverance of the men and women which he had putt into that great bagge, and they would have had to eat, but the godde^{ll} have reproved those canyball spirits and drove them away^{ll}. This is a rather vague statement, but Strachey goes on to say that the boy-interpreter was afraid to ask the old chief too many questions, so the old man went on telling how the god-like haves made the water and the fish therein, and the land and a great deer which should feed upon the land. The four other gods being envious at this, assembled together from the North, South, East and West, killed the deer with hunting-poles dressed him and after they had feasted upon him, departed again to the North, South, East and West; at this juncture, the other god, "in despite for this their mallice to him",^{ll} cut the hairs of the slain deer and opened them on the earth with many powerful words charms wherebyevery hair became a deer. Then he opened the great bag in which the men and women were, and placed them upon the earth, a man and a woman in each country, and thus

the world took its first beginning."

When questioned as to what became of his people after death, the old chief answered "how that after they are dead here they goe to the top of a high tree, and then they spie a faire plaine broad path-waye, on both sides whereof doth grow all manner of pleasant fruits and mulberries, strawberries, plombes, etc. In this pleasant faith they runne toward the rising of the sunne, where the golly hare's house is, and in the mid-way they come to a house where a woman-goddesse doth dwell, who hath alwaies her doores open for hospitality, and hath at all tymes ready-drest coene
(1) us kata kohen and pocohicora, together with all manner of pleasant fruicts, and a readynesse to entertayne all such as doe travell to the great hare's house; and when they are well refreshed, they run in their pleasant path to the rising of the sun, where they find their fore-fathers living in great pleasure in a goodly field where they doe nothing but daunce and sing, and feed on delicious fruicts with that great hare who is their great god; and when they have lyved there till they be starke old men, they saye they dye likewise by turns and come into the world againe."

From the above account, then, it is evident that the Vir-

(1) ~~Supra p. 30~~

ginie Indians, like many other tribes the world-over, had their own peculiar theories of cosmogony and the origin of man. The "Great Hare" of whom Japazars speaks was, we find from comparative study, no other than the great culture-hero of the Algonkins generally. He it was who taught them the tillage of the soil, the properties of roots and herbs, the art of picture writing, the secrets of magic, - the founder, in fine, of all their political and religious institutions. After ruling long upon the earth as their governor and king, he finally vanished mysteriously to return

(1)

again, however, "when especially needed. For, just as the Germans had as their ^{legendary} hero Frederick Barbarossa, the French Charlemagne and the Britons King Arthur, so ~~had~~ all the Al-

(2)

gonkin tribes have their "Manicouzo or Michabo, the "Great Hare"; and Strachey's account evidently indicates that the Virginia Indians held such a belief also. In other words, the "great Hare" of his account is none other than this "Manicouzo, Michabo or Shawandese.

This divinity of the Algonkins appears under different aspects in their different legends, ^{now} how he is a malicious mischief-maker, full of wiles and tricks, cunning and

(1) E. G. Brinton: Myths of the New World. p. 160.

See Schoolcraft, V. p. 480. Charlevoix, Relation de la

(2) Nouvelle France, vol. 1, p. 93.

(1)
crafty, - a sort of Robin Good fellow. Now, as in the
above legend, he comes before us as a culture-hero, mighty
and beneficent, whose character it is a pleasure to deline-
ate; for he appears as the patron and founder of the oc-
cult arts, the great hunter, the inventor of picture-writ-
ing, the ruler of the winds, and even as the creator of the
world, the sun and the other heavenly bodies. (2)

In the autumn, the "moon of falling leaves", it was
he, who ~~was~~ composing himself for his winter's nap, filled
his great pipe and took a "god-like smoke"., balmy, fra-
grant clouds of this floating away over the vales, hills
and woods, fill the air with the dreamy soft haze of Indian
summer. ~~He it was, the "Shawondasee fat and lazy" of Long-~~
~~ellow and~~

"Had his dwelling far to Southward

In the drowsy, deep-sea sunshine,

In the never-ending Summer"

and it was he from whose pipe,

"- - -the smoke ascending

Filled the sky with haze and vapor,

Filled the air with dreamy softness

Gave a twinkle to the water.

(1) Probably in this character he was confused with Okem.

(2) Strachey's Accot et cetera above, pp. 131, 132.

(3) Hiawatha.

"Touched the barbed hills with sunshine
 Brought the tender Indian-Summer
 To the melancholy North-land,
 In the dreary Moon of Snow-shoes."

It may seem exceedingly strange that such an insignificant creature as the hare should have received such honour and reverence. Such a curious fact, however, may be due to a natural error in etymology; that is to say, the name Manibohzo and its dialectic varieties, whose component apparently connote the meaning "Great Hare" may very probably have the meaning "Great Light" equivalent to "Spirit of the Dawn" or the East. The "Great Hare," ~~the~~ of Strachey's account will rather be, then, the "great white one" an impersonation of the Dawn or Light - and identical with the Ioshua of the Iroquois, the Viracocha of the Peruvians, (1) and the Quetzalcoatl of the Aztecs.

Other equally interesting bits of information concerning the religious status and beliefs of the Virginia Indians are given by Hariot. According to this authority, the Virginia tribes believed in many gods, called Wantoac - of different sorts or degrees yet having a chief god among them, to whom the rest are subject; and who helped him in

(1) See D.S. Smith's "Myths of the New World," p. 137. The words "hare" and "light" are identical both in sound and in the Indo-European root "wab"; and so the name Manibohzo is composed of Minchi (light) and Wab (hare) = "Great Light".

the creation of the world. Afterwards ~~then~~ (i.e. the gods) fashioned the sun, moon and stars, and out of the water as a primordial element "all diversitie of creatures that are visible and invisible." In regard to the origin of man their belief was that woman was first made, and she by one of the gods brought forth children, but at what period or epoch of the genesis this occurred they professed ignorance; the representations of these gods were little images called
(1)
Kewasawok.

All the Virginia Indians were firm believers in the
(2)
immortality of the soul. When life departed from the body, according to the good or bad works it hath done, it is carried up to the Tabernacles of the Gods to perpetual happiness, or to Poporusso, a great pit: which they think to be at the furthest points of the world where the Sunne
(3)
sets, and there burne continually". Strachey informs us that it was one of their tenets that "the common people
(3)
shall not live after death; ~~but~~ says he, "they thinke that their wewowances and priests when their bodies are laid in the earth, that that which is within shall goe beyond the counternes, and travell to where the sunne setteth

(1) See Smith's Gen. Hist. bk. 2, p. 374; Strachey, p. 94; Beverley, pp. 187, 189, etc.

(2) Hariot in Hakluyt iii. p. 336.

(3) Says Smith in this connection (Generall Historie, bk. 2, p. 374) "They thinke that their wewowance and Priests
(ever-

ley. This Historian tells us that the Virginia Indians
 revered greatly a little, solitary bird which, singing
 only at nightfall in the woods, uttered the note Powe-orance
 continually, for, these "Virginians" believed that to this
 little bird the souls of their princes passed, and conse-
 quently they would not do it the least injury. A story had
 currency among them which greatly increased their awe of
 this little creature. It was to the effect that upon one
 occasion a daring Indian had killed one of these birds, but
 the sacrilegious act cost him dear, for he disappeared in a
 little while thereafter and was never more heard of. (1)

(2)

Colonel William Byrd gives a very quaint and inter-
 esting account of the religious beliefs of the Virginians.
 The information was obtained from an Indian guide when he
 was engaged in surveying the dividing line between North
 Carolina and Virginia. According to this account the Indi-
 ans believed that there was one supreme God and several
 "subaltern" deities under him. This Master-god made the
 world a long time ago. He told the moon and the stars their
 business at the beginning, which they have faithfully per-
 formed ever since. This same power keeps all things in the

(1) Beverley, Hist. of Va. pp. 168, 169, 170.

(2) Hist. of N.C. Line in "Westover MSS. 1, pp. 105, 110. cf.

(3) Beverley, P. 157.

method and manner. That God created worlds previous to the present one but had destroyed them "~~for~~ the Dishonesty of the Inhabitants"- This God is very just and very good, and takes the good into his protection, "makes them rich, fills their Bellies plentifully, preserves them from sickness"- As for the wicked, he never fails to punish them with sickness, poverty and hunger; and "after all that suffers them to be knockt on the Head and scalpt by them that fight against them"-

After death both good and bad are conducted by a strong guard into a great wood. They travel together for some time; at length their roads part, one of which is level, the other stony and mountainous. At this point the good were separated from the bad by a flash of lightning; ~~and~~ the good went to the right, the bad to the left. The right hand road led to a "charming warm Country" where "Spring is everlasting" and "every month is May". The people there are always in their youth; the women are as bright as stars and what is ~~even~~ better "never scold"- In this happy place are Deer, Turkeys, Elks and Buffaloes innumerable, perfectly fat and gentle, and trees loaded with fruit throughout the four seasons. The soil there brings forth spontaneously; and the food is so wholesome that those who eat of it "are never sick, grow old or ~~die~~".

—A ~~man~~ ^{man} ~~who~~ ^{who} ~~examines~~ ^{examines} ~~strictly~~ ^{strictly} ~~all~~ ^{all} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~present~~ ^{present} ~~before~~ ^{before} ~~him,~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{if} ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~have~~ ^{have} ~~believed~~ ^{believed} ~~well~~ ^{well} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~guards~~ ^{guards} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~advised~~ ^{advised} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~open~~ ^{open} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~crystal~~ ^{crystal} ~~gate,~~ ^{and} ~~and~~ ^{let} ~~them~~ ^{them} ~~enter~~ ^{enter} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~"Land~~ ^{"Land} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~Delights".~~ ^{Delights".}

On the other hand, the path to the left leads to a dark and dismal country by a rugged and uneven path. Here it is always winter. The ground is covered with snow all the year and nothing is to be "seen upon the trees but icicles". The people ~~there~~ ^{are} ~~are~~ ^{always} ~~hungry~~ ^{hungry}, yet have not a morsel to eat except a kind of ~~patch~~ ^{patch} that "gives them the Dog-gripes". Here all the women are old and ugly, having claws like a ~~panther~~ ^{panther}, with which they ["]fly upon the men that slight their passion - - - they talk much and exceeding shrill, giving exquisite pain to the Drum of the ear, which in that Place of Torment is so tender that every Sharp Note sends it to the quick."

At the end of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~way~~ ^{way} ~~there~~ ^{there} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~a~~ ^a ~~dreadful~~ ^{dreadful} ~~old~~ ^{old} ~~woman~~ ^{woman} ~~on~~ ^{on} ~~a~~ ^a ~~monstrous~~ ^{monstrous} ~~Wood-Stool,~~ ^{wood} ~~whose~~ ^{head} ~~head~~ ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{covered} ~~with~~ ^{with} ~~Rattle-~~ ^{Rattle-} ~~snakes~~ ^{snakes} ~~instead~~ ^{instead} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~tree~~ ^{tree} ~~its~~ ^{its} ~~bloomy~~ ^{bloomy} ~~white~~ ^{white} ~~Eyes,~~ ^{Eyes,} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~strike~~ ^{strike} ~~a~~ ^a ~~terror~~ ^{terror} ~~inspeaks~~ ^{inspeaks} ~~le~~ ^{le} ~~all~~ ^{all} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~behold~~ ^{behold} ~~her.~~ ^{her.} ~~This~~ ^{This} ~~she~~ ^{she} ~~pronounces~~ ^{pronounces} ~~Sentence~~ ^{Sentence} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~Woe~~ ^{Woe} ~~upon~~ ^{upon} ~~all~~ ^{all} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~miserable~~ ^{miserable} ~~wretches~~ ^{wretches} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~hold~~ ^{hold} ~~up~~ ^{up} ~~their~~ ^{their} ~~hands~~ ^{hands} ~~at~~ ^{at} ~~her~~ ^{her} ~~tribunal.~~ ^{tribunal.} ~~After~~ ^{After} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~delivered~~ ^{delivered} ~~over~~ ^{over} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~large~~ ^{large} ~~Turkey-Pigeons,~~ ^{Turkey-Pigeons,} ~~like~~ ^{like}

171

4.

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7

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7.

47

12

7

themselves. Fly wit them to the place above mentioned. Here they are tortured, but while according to their customs, ¹ which they are again brought back into the world to see if they will "mend their manners" and merit a place the next time in the Region of "Ilist".

(1) ¹ The Indian Religion ~~then~~ contained the three great articles of natural religion: (1) the belief in ~~the~~ God; (2) ^{the} the moral distinction between good and evil and (3) ~~the~~ the expectation of Reward and Punishment in the future world. ^{the}

Near the temples of their gods were the sepulchres of their "kings", where the remains of the royal family were kept and embalmed. In fact, embalming the dead was in vogue among the Virginia Indians almost to as great an extent as among the Ancient Egyptians and Chaldeans. Quite elaborate accounts of such ^{the} process are preserved in (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) Herriot, Beverley, Smith, and Pinkerton.

According to Smith, the bodies when embalmed were first "swelled", then dried, and then their "inwards were stuffed with copper beads, hatchets and such trash"; then, being wrapped in white skins and covered with mats, they

(1) Bird's Summary, p. 102, 169 & History of the Civilian line.

(2) In Hakluyt III, p. , also plate xxii. of De Bry.

(3) Smith, Gen. Hist. bk. 2, p. 370, 371.

(4) Beverley's Hist. of Va. pp. 129, 170.

(5) Pinkerton's Voyages, XIII, p. 39 et seq.

were placed in an oblong ~~chamber~~ ^{chamber} with their heads raised at their feet. Upon a large shelf raised a few feet above the floor of the main building which constituted their sacred ^{temple} ~~chamber~~. Here the mummies were watched over by a priest, who kept the fire burning before them. Near them also was always a quicoeco or idol to keep watch and ward.

(2)

The Historian Beverley gives quite a minute account of the Virginia Indian's method of embalming. "First," says he, "they neatly flay off the skin as entire as they can, splitting it up the back; then, they pick off the flesh from the bones as clean as possible, leaving the sinews fastened to the bones, that they may preserve the joints together; after this, they dry the bones in the sun, and put them into the skin again which, in the meantime, has been kept from drying or shrinking; when the bones are placed right in the skin, they merely fill up the vacuities with a very fine white sand. After this, they sew up the skin again and the body looks as if the flesh had not been removed. They take care to keep the flesh from shrinking by the help of a little oil or rum, which will save it from corruption.

The skin laid in this manner for 100 days it is as

(1) Brown, Genesis of the United States, 1, 347.

(2) Beverley, Hist. of Va. pp. 170, 170. Cf. Spelman's (p. ex) description of the "method of their burial" if they die."

Am.





up at the top of a pole, upon a large shelf raised above the floor - - - the flesh they lay upon a burlap in the sun to dry, and when it is thoroughly dried, it is sewed up in a basket and set at the feet of the corpse to which it belongs. ~~It is~~ In the burial of the commonalty, a dog hole was dug in the earth with sharp stakes; the bodies ^{new} wrapped in skins and mats; ^{then} with ~~the~~ ^{of the} ~~the~~ ^{to} placed ⁽¹⁾ ~~thereon~~ upon sticks, and then covered with earth. After the interment, the women painted themselves all over with black coal and oil and sat twenty four hours ~~lamenting~~ ^{lamenting} and ~~howling~~ ^{lamenting}.

The most sacred place in Virginia was Uttamussac at Pamunkey near the palace of the "Emperour" Powhatan. Here, upon the top of "certaine redde sandy hills in the woods" rose their "great Temple, their "chief holie house", and ~~near it were two other temples~~ ^{near it were two other temples} 60 feet in length. All of them fitted with "images of their kings, and Divells and Tombs of their Predecessors". Such ~~was the place~~ ^{as} ascribed to this locality that no one but the priests and kings could enter it. Here ~~also~~ the priests held con-

- (1) See also Jones' Present State of Va. p.16; Smith's Generall Historie. bk.2. p.391; Strachey. pp.29,30.
(2) Smith's Gen. Hist. bk.2, p.371

(1)

occurrences with their gods and delivered oracles; and such was the extreme veneration in which such oracles were held that the "simple lavitie would doe anything how despotic so-

(2)

ever that was commanded them", and furthermore, they durst not go up the River near by unless they previously cast

some peeces of copper, white leads or Pozonos" into the water "for feare that Okens should be offended and revenged of

them"-(At this place,also,officiated seven priests of whom the chief one alone was distinguished by ornaments, while it was only in a very slight degree that the inferior

(3)

priesthood differed at all from the commonalty.

The chief-priest wore upon his shoulders a middle-sized cloak of feathers, "much like" we are told,"the old sacrificing garment which Isidorus calls cassida"; and his head-gear was especially conspicuous and unique. It was

(1) "~~As I~~ learned" says Purchas (V, 643),"that their Okens doth often appear to them in this House or Temple; the manner of which apparition is thus: First, four of their Priests or Sacred Persons goe into the House, and by certaine words of a strange Language-call or coniure their Okens, who appeareth to them out of the air, thence coming into the House and walking up and down with strange words and gestures, causeth eight more of the principal persons to be called in all which twelve standing around him, he pronounceth to them what he would have done. -

Of him they depended in all their proceedings, if it be but on a hunting journey who by words and other awful tokens of his presence holds them in a superstitious both fear and confidence. This apparition is in form of a personall Virginian, with a long black lock on the left side hanging downe neere to the foot. - -After he hath staid with his twelve so long as he thinks fit he departeth up into the aire whence he came." (Notes 2 and 3 on next page)

made as follows: Some twelve or sixteen or even more snake skins were stuffed with moss, and also as many seal and other skins. All these were tied by the tails, so that they met at the top of the head like a "large tassell," around which was a coronet of feathers, while the skins hung down around the face, neck, and shoulders in such a way as to hide it almost entirely. The priest's countenance was always painted in a grim fashion; his chief emblem of office was the rattle; and the chief devotional exercise consisted, ~~for the most part, of~~ weird songs or "hellish cries", in the rendition of which, ^{as before} one acted the part of precentor. His program was, on ~~some~~ occasions, varied by an invocation "with broken sentences, by starts and strange passion, and at every pause the rest of the priests gave a short groan." (1)

The most usual costume of the Virginia Indian priest was as follows: A cloak made in the form of the ~~feminine~~ petticoat, and fastened, not as we might expect, about the waist, but ~~gatherings~~ about the neck and tied over the left shoulder, leaving one arm always free for use. This cloak hung even at the bottom, reaching in no case, further than the middle of the thigh. This robe was made of the

Notes 2 & 3 (previous page) (2) Smith's History of the Indians of North America, p. 72. (3) Smith's History of the Indians of North America, p. 72.

(1) Ibid.

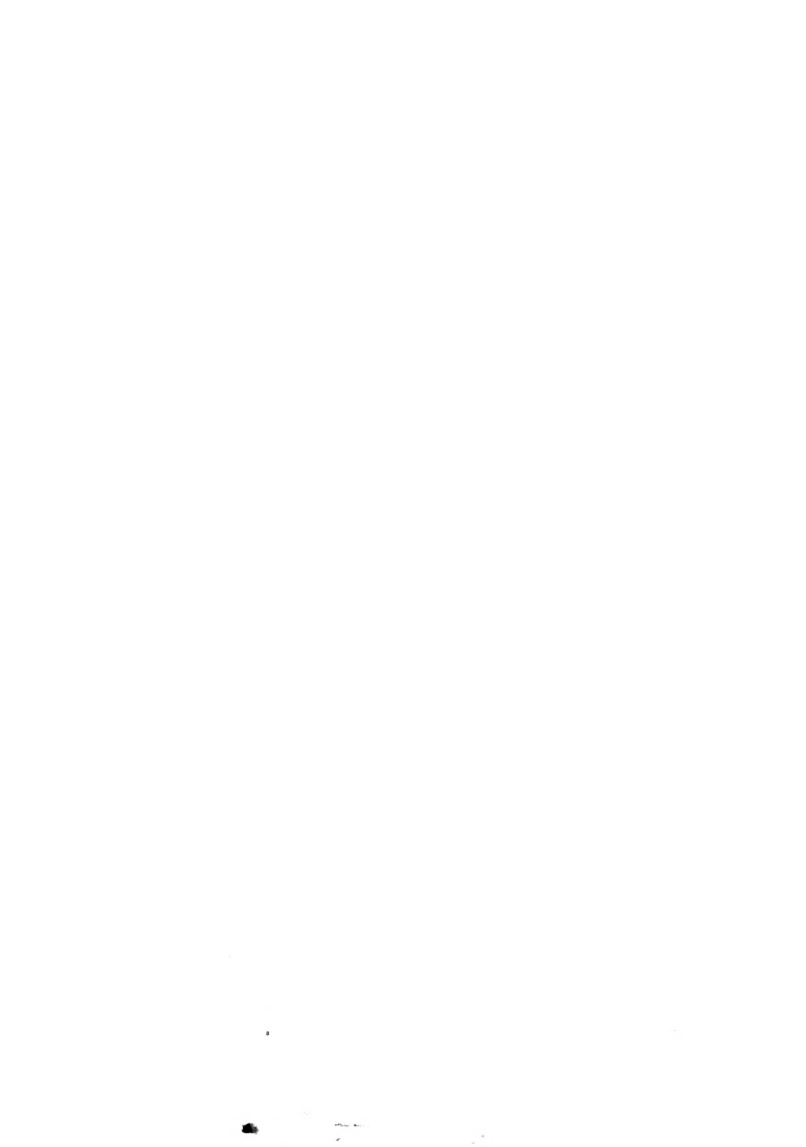
skin dress and sort with the fur on the outside and reversed; consequently, when the robe had been worn but a little while, the fur would fall out in flakes, ~~making it have a fearful appearance.~~ The Indian priests' hair was dressed in an extraordinary manner. It was shaven close except for a thin crest, which would stand bristling up like the comb of a cock, ^{or} running, ~~as it lay~~ in a semi-circle from the crown of the head backward to the nape of the neck. A border of hair over the forehead was also worn, ^{and} this, by its own natural strength and stiffness, stood out like a bonnet, ~~and~~ ^{was} being usually stuffed with grease (oil paint). (1)

(1)
 Hariot, in speaking of the priests, says "whatever substitute be ever in the werovances and Priests; this opinion worketh so much in the common sort, that they have great respect unto their governors". He, moreover, goes on to say that in their religion ^{the} "they were not so sure grounded, nor gave such credit, but through conversing with us, they were brought into a great doubt of their owne and no small admiration of ours". In their "great simplicitie" also, they considered the "mathematicall instruments" of the English to be the work of God rather than men. (3)

(1) Howes' Hist. Coll. of Va. p.137.

(2) Hariot, in Hakluyt, v. III, p.338, et seq.

(3) Spelman, Relation of Va. p.cix, ex Cf. Lawson's Hist. of Carolina, p. 11, 12.



See how the manner of treating the sick relieved these priests increase our favorable opinion of their knowledge or skill. ~~See it is:-~~

"When any be sicke among them the priest euers into the party, whom he layeth upon a mat. A bowl of water is then set upon the ground between the physician and the sick person with a rattle by it. The priest kneeling by the sick mans side dips his hand into the bowle, which taking full of water, he supps it into his mouth spewting it out againe, upon his owne arms, and breast, then takes he the rattle and with one hand takes that and with the other he beates his breast, making a great noyse, which having done he easelye Riseth (as loth to wake the sicke) bendinge first with one legge, then with the other, and beinge now got up easelye goeth a out the sicke man, shaking his Rattle very softly over all his bodye; and with his hand he striketh the grieved parts of the sicke, then doth besprinkle him with water, mumblinge certaine words over him, and so for that time leave him."

(1) The functions of the priest, ~~as~~ among the Virginia Indians may be summed up as follows:-

(1) He presided in spiritual matters;

(1) Spelman, Relation of Va. pp. 61, ex. 77. Lawson's Hist. of Carolina, pp. 211, 114.

(2) See C.C. Jones, pp. 20, 1. ~~See~~ Mention of So. Indians)

(2) He spoke "Powcorance" and in "all public and private affairs,"⁽¹⁾

(3) He had personal experience with invisible spirits,⁽²⁾

(4) He propitiated the elements by charms and incantations,

(5) He foretold events, apparently having the power of second sight;

(6) He possessed all the knowledge of the race whether religious, physical or moral;

(7) He spoke an esoteric language⁽³⁾ and was the physician of his tribe; finally, the priests were of different grades, some of greater importance than others. The chief priest, for instance, had especially great influence, and on his death,^{3 (f)} the whole community or tribe united in paying him reverence and celebrating the event with ~~dances~~⁽⁴⁾.

"In any notable accident or encounter had taken place in wood or wilderness, "certain altar-stones" called by the natives "Powcorance" were set up, each after the Hebrew fashion. Each one of these stones had its history, which was told to any one desiring information. These Powcoran-

(1) Brevis Narratio. pl. xii (2) ~~Ex. Hist. Va. p. 140~~
also Bertram's Travels, p. 495 (4) ~~Ex. Hist. Va. p. 140~~

(2) ~~Ex. Hist. Va. p. 140~~

(3) ~~Ex. Hist. Va. p. 140~~

3 (f) "Brevis Narratio" pl. x

4 (f) J. Jones Am. Soc. Ind. ar

the Indians, and upon them, it was the custom to offer

"bloud, deer-suet and Tobacco" on any notable occasion, or when they returned victorious or successful from the war

(1) or the chase. The chief of the Pawcorances was at Utamassack. It was of solid crystal of great size, and upon it sacrifices were made at the most solemn festivals. Says

(2) "everley" "His se-laientra nous presuader, qu'elle estait si transparente qu'on pouvait bien voir au travers le grain de la peau d'un homme; et qu'elle estait de un poids prodigieuse".

(3)

There seem to have been six set holy days appointed by the Virginia Indians for religious festivals, though there were quite a number of them. The coming of the wild fowls e.g. geese, ducks, teal, etc., the return of the deer in the season; and the ripening of certain fruits, were solemnized as festivals. Their greatest annual festival, however, was that of the corn-gathering & harvest home, at which the revelling occupied several days together; to these they all contributed as they did to the gathering of

(1) Beverley Hist. of Va. 168. Strachey, p. 98.

(2) Historie de la Virginie, p. 177.

(3) Purchas, v. 343.

the corn. On this occasion corresponding as it did, to the Boos-ke-tau of the Greeks, there was the greatest variety of past times, war dances and boastful songs; to the effect that their corn being at length gathered, they should now have supplied for their families and so there will be nothing for them to do but go to war, travel, or seek new adventures.

(1)

With still greater solemnity was a second annual festival conducted. It commenced with a fast of the severest nature. Then came a feast: the old fire was put out, and by the friction of two pieces of wood, a new fire was kindled. Sand was then sprinkled on the earth and, to make the illustration complete, an emetic and purgative of cas-sina was taken by the whole nation. All crimes save murder were pardoned at this festival, and the solemnities were concluded by a funeral procession as symbolic of the fact that henceforth the past was to be buried in oblivion; as evidencing this, criminals having taken a decoction of cassina they sat themselves down by the side of the people and the dead injured with perfect security.

(2)

The manner of worship employed at such festivals was

(1) Howe's Hist. Coll'n of Va. p.139 - cf. Jones "Antiq. of the Southern Indians, pp. 99.100.

(2) Here as His Pilgrimes, v 839 - ~~and the Boos-ke-tau of the Greeks.~~

ried; sometimes, they made a large fire in a house or the fields, and danced around it; sometimes setting a man or some of "the fairest Virgins of the companie" in the midst they would dance and singe around them, while these latter in the meantime "as it were turned about in their dancinge" and clapped their hands. After all such ceremonies, feasting was in order. Solemn dances were likewise performed in remembrance of the dead - for deliverance from some great danger, or on the occasion of a return from war, safe and sound.

Among the Virginia Indians there were various kinds of conjurations, or pawawinges, one of which Captain Smith observed when a captive at Pamunkey. On this "conjuration", he gives the following account:-

"Early in the morning a great fire was made in a long house and a mat spread on the one side, as on the other; on the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house, and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coal mingled with oyle, - - - and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voyce and a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures

(1) Purchas His Pilgrimes, V. 838; see also pl. xvii of Hariot, *De Bry*.

(2) Smith Gen. Hist. bk. 3, p. 398 in Beverley, p. 158.

(3) See supra, p. 72.

and passions. He began his invocation, and environed himself with a circle of meale; which done, three more much like devills came rushing in with the like antique tricks, painted halfe blacke, halfe red, but all their eyes were painted white and some red stroakes like Mutchato's along their cheekes; round about him these fiends danced a pretty while and then came in three more as ugly as the rest; with red eyes; and white stroakes over their blacke faces, three of them on the one hand of the chief Priest, three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song, which ended, the chief Priest layd down five wheat cornes; then straying his arms and hands with such violence that he sweate, and his veynes swelled, he began a short Oration: at the conclusion they all gave a short groane; and then layd down three graines more. After that, began their song againe, and then another Oration, ever laying downe as many cornes as before till they had twice incircled the fire: that done they tooke a bunch of little sticks prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion and at the end of every song and oration, they layd down a stick betwixt the divisions of corne. Till night, neither he nor they did eat or drinke; and then they feasted merrily with the best provision they could take. Three days they used this cer-

emony". The meaning of it all, as far as I am, was to find out if he intended them well or ill. The circle of scale signified their country; the circles of corn, the lands of the sea; and the shells his country. They imagined, we are told that the earth was flat and round, considering themselves as occupying its centre - a belief common to all ~~savage cosmogonies~~.

The conjuror was the friend and ally of the priest, or frequently the same person was both conjuror and priest. Then in the act of conjuration, the conjuror, usually a black bird with extended wings, fastened to the ear, seemed ~~to be~~ seized with a divine madness and assumed an air of fast and quick movement ~~contorting himself into various~~ convulsive postures. All his faculties were in the highest state of tension.

(1)

(2) Harriot says of these Virginia conjurors: "They be verve familiar with devils, of whom they enquire what their enemyes doe, or other suche thinges. They shave all their heads savinge their creste which they weare as others doe, and fasten a small blacke birde a ove one of their eares as a badge of their office. They weare nothing but a

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- (1) Beverley, Hist. of Va. p. 139. cf. account of Francois Corcal, vol. 1, pp. 39-41 (Moyra ed.)
 (2) Plate X of Harriot, *True Breve & Accurate Antiq. of So. Indians*, pp. 30, 31.

skinne - - They wore a bagg of their rice. The Indians
 tants give great credit unto their speache, which often-
 times they finde to be true"- Such, indeed, was the esteem
 and veneration in which the conjurer was held that no en-
 terprise was undertaken without consulting him; and such a
 practice was not without reason, for by their superior op-
 portunities they engrossed almost all the historical or
 scientific knowledge of their respective tribes, though of
 course such knowledge was extremely vague. (1)

One of the superstitions propagated by them was such
 an one as this: Near the falls of the river James below
 where Richmond now stands, may be seen, about a mile dis-
 tant from the river, a rock upon which several marks are
 imprinted, apparently the foot-prints of some gigantic man.
 These they were assured, were the foot-prints of their god
 Kiwasa as he walked through the land of Powhatan. A tale
 somewhat resembling that told by the Ancient Romans of the
 hoof marks left in stone near Lake Rezzius, made, it was
 said, by the hoof of the horses of the Dioscuri. (2)

Writes Rev. Alex. Whitaker, of the "magic and sor-
 cery" of the Virginia Indians "Another accident fell out in

(1) Mariot in Hakluyt, iii. 339

(2) Cooke's Hist. of Va. p. 30; Campbell. Hist. of Va. p. 99.

(4) Letter to Cowslaw in Brown's Genesis of .S. 1. 1. 496, 499

(3) Livy II. 19

March at Lancaster river, and at the passage of
 their down, there passed out of the shore a red snowe daunt-
 inge like Anties, or our Morris Dances before when there
 went Quockosito flame and smoke out of a thinge like
 a censer. An Indian amongst our men seeing the daunce told
 us that there would be very much raine presently, and in-
 deed there was forthwith exceedinge thunder and lichtenings
 and much raine within 5 miles, and soe farther off, but not
 so much as made their powder damp. Many such Casualties
 happen as that Principall amongst them being bound with
 strong Irons and kept with great watch has strayed from us
 without our knowledge or prevention. All which things make
 us thinke that there be great witches amongst them and they
 very familiar with the Divill".

(1)

Deverley tells a story confirming Whitaker's ac-
 count of the sorcery of the Virginia Indians. It runs
 somewhat as follows: Not long before writing his history
 he tells us there was a dry time at the head of one of the
 rivers especially the James near Colonel Byrd's negro Quar-
 ters. Now this Col. Byrd was very much respected and be-
 loved by his Indian neighbors; so one day one of these In-
 dians came to the Colonel's overseer and asked him if the
 (1) Deverley, Hist. of Va. p.168.

Colonel's tobacco was not likely to be destroyed on account of the dearth. The overseer, of course, assented in the affirmative. The Indian then said he would bring him (i.e. the overseer) rain enough if he would give him two bottles of rum. The overseer promised to give him the rum if he would do as he had promised. Whereupon the Indian began "pawawing" and, apparently as a result of this "conjugation" in less than half an hour there came a cloud in the sky and a plentiful storm fell upon the earth, but only on Colonel Byrd's land and not on any of the farms adjacent. Then, the Indian went away and was not again heard of till the Colonel came in person to the plantation. Then the Indian came back and demanded the promised bottle of "~~aqua vitae~~" ^{rum}. The Colonel feigned surprise and ignorance of the ground of the Indian's demand; the Indian with much concern said he hoped the overseer had let him know how he had saved the crop, and in the end the Colonel having made sport of him for awhile, sent him away; but gave him, at the same time, the two bottles of ^{rum} aqua vitae.

The conjurer, then, united in himself the offices of sorcerer, physician and fortune-teller, and operated by incantations, "charms" and contortions. He also professed to make the most wonderful cures of disease by his knowledge

(1)

(1) See plate xx of "Revis Narratio" De Bry.

of medicinal herbs and simples. He would also treat his case by

- (1) Scarifying the patient's forehead and sucking therefrom, as it were, the "seeds of disease";
- (2) Making the patient inhale the fumes of tobacco or other medicinal plants, while lying on his stomach,
- (3) Causing the patient to smoke the tobacco and
- (1)
- (5) By chanting incantations over him

They also conjured for stolen goods, ~~dead-hair~~, cured tooth ache, and brought rain and favorable seasons.

Objects of sacred import among the Virginia Indians were various. The carved posts representing human face to be observed in rows around the Quioccosan were especially venerated. Pyramidal stones and pillars were also adored. ~~not, however,~~ as having any efficacy in themselves to help ~~their votaries~~ but as symbols of the ^{eternity} ~~permanency~~ and immortality of the Deity - baskets of stones and running streams

(2)

were worshipped for the same reason; though it is highly probable that in the running streams, the Virginia Indians worshipped Manibozho, as the Spirit of the Waters; or, in a less probable ~~is not~~, they may have adored the Moon goddess

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- (1) See C. C. Jones' "Antiquities of the So. Ind. pp. 31, 32, 33, 34.
 - (2) Feyerley, "Hist. of Va. p. 168.

who was believed by Algonquian tribes to reside over water.
(1)
death, cold, sleep, and matter generally.

The conception of holy-water was not unknown to the Virginia Indians, as is evident from the use of it by the conjuror and priests as mentioned by Smith, Spelman, etc. Another of their observances was their care to keep fire always burning in their dwellings. If at any time the fire went out, it was taken to be an evil omen; if, however, it should ~~we~~ ^{we} ~~go~~ out by accident, it was immediately rekindled by the friction ~~method~~. To prevent any such catastrophe, however, they took great pains to always have in their possession splinters of pine or the fir-tree, which, ^{being} ~~burnt~~ ^{burnt} with a bright light; so that if one were ~~extinguished~~ others would be on hand to take its place. This curious fact, together with others, leads us to the belief that the Virginia Indians worshipped fire; probably, it is true, not as a divinity, yet as an emblem of divinity.

The Indians of Virginia, however, did not limit their adoration and veneration to images and officies, but

- (1) Schoolcraft, iii. 165.
- (2) Such facts as: (a) in the contemporary pictures of De Bry, representing Indian life, a perpetual fire is ~~mentioned as being~~ ^{mentioned} (b) the practice of ~~fasting~~ ^{fasting} ~~slowly~~ ^{slowly} casting morsels of food into the fire before eating (c) fire-worship was prevalent among the Algonquian tribes and Iroquois (d) Father White says that Indians worshipped earth and fire. pp. 41 and 42.

worshiped. with the powers and series of the material world. When the river and the sea, the waters became roused by the wind into a storm, the conjurer would come to the water-side, or if in their canoes, would utter many "hellish cries and invocations", cast such things as copper, Pecones, etc., into the water to pacify ⁽¹⁾ that god whom they think to command the stormes, and believing tobacco to be especially acceptable to him, ⁽²⁾ this was invariably sacrificed and burnt in his honor.

The fact that the Virginia Indians worshipped a god who is "angry in storms" goes to prove that there was a worship of the Thunderstorm prevalent among them; a natural worship for the thunderstorm is certainly the "visible synthesis of all the divine manifestations", the winds, the waters, and the flames. ⁽³⁾

Like the Aztecs and Peruvians, the Indians of Virginia ⁽⁴⁾ sacrificed to the Sun, ⁽⁵⁾ account this heavenly body a god. ~~Walter~~ George Percy tells us "It is a general

rule of these people, when they swear by their God which is

(1) Smith Gen. Hist. bk. 2, p. 371. Strachey, p. 90.

(2) See LaPiot in Hakluyt, III, p. 330, ~~also~~ ^{also} Jones, Antiquities of the Co. Inds., p. 296.

(3) - E. S. Briator Myths of the New World, p. 150 et seq.

(4) Especially the "Cusquescharoucks" ~~p. 112 of Capt. John Smith's~~ ¹¹⁵.

(5) Percy in Purchas, I, 1625-1630.



the Sunne, no Christian will keepe their oath ~~settle~~ upon
 their promise. These people have a great reverence for the
 Sunne above all things; at the rising and setting of the
 same, they sit down lifting up their hands and eyes to the
 Sunne, making a round circle the ground with dried tobacco;
 then, they begin to pray, using many Devillish gestures,
 with Hellish noise, foaming at the mouth, staring with the
 eyes, warging their heads and hands a fashion and deformi-
 tie as it was monstrous to behold." Furthermore, in his
 narration, Percy states that William White, who had lived
 with the natives, told him something of their customs. He
 affirmed that "In the morning or break of day, before they
 eat or drinke, both men, women, and children (that be
 above tenne years of age) runnes into the water, then wash-
 es themselves a good while till the Sunne riseth; then of-
 fer Sacrifices to it, strewing tobacco on the water or
 land, honoring the Sunne as their god. Likewise, they lo-
 (1)
 at the setting of the Sunne".

From various allusions and notices scattered around
 among the authorities ~~to be found there~~, it is evident that
 the Virginia Indians adored the Cardinal points and these

 (1) Percy in "Purchas." p. 123.

are to be identified with the four winds, and for this reason the number "four" was held sacred, and its use universal among all the North American Indian tribes, and indeed such a belief is a necessary consequence of the hunter's life. Conclusive evidence of the existence of such a belief among the Virginia Indians is given by Strachey (1) who tells how the Indians worshipped the "four winds" and who mentions four images as being at the corners of Powhatan's treasure house, one at each. Purchas also informs us on good authority that the Virginia Indians "worshipped towards a certaine Woope or sphere doubled in a crosse, which they set upon a heape of stones in this house." The latter, however, may be identified with the worship of the Great Spirit, a symbol of whom the object described by Purchas, (2) seems evidently to have been. For we are told by Longfellow (3) that "Gitche Manito the Mighty" was painted,

"As an orb with points projecting

To the Four winds of the "Heavens".

~~adding the fact that~~

"Everywhere is the Great Spirit

"The meaning of this symbol."

(1) Strachey, pp. 98, 99. See also.

(2) Purchas, p. 848.

(3) Hiawatha.



Sacrifice was frequently practiced by the Virginia Indians. Spelman tells us it is so said: "but upon necessitye yet one(e) in the year, their priest makes a great cirkell of fier in ye which after many observances in the conventions they make offer of 2 or 3 children - to their god if he will appeare unto them and show upon whom he will have desire. Upon which offeringe they heare a noyse out of ye Cirkell nominatinre such as he will have, & come presently they take bindinge their hand and foote and cast them into ye cirkell of the fier, for be it the King's sonne he must be given in one(e) named by their god. After the ceremonies performed they do depart verily, the women weepinge".

The Virginia Indians, ~~however~~, affirmed that they withdrew their children not because of ²desire to sacrifice them, but to consecrate them to the service of their god. It is, however, an ~~only~~ too well established fact that only a few were reserved to the service of the god, while the rest were ~~all of them~~ ⁽²⁾slaughtered. Smith gives the following account of the annual sacrifice of children among these Indians as narrated to him by an eye-witness:

- (1) Relation of Virginia, pp. cx, cvi. ff. Jones "Antiquities of the Va. Inds." p. 13, 24.
- (2) Smith's Gen. Hist. Vol. 2, pp. 373, 374.

"Thirteen of the people of the house were, some between ten and fifteen years of age, and all of the same white. Having brought the people to the shore-door in dancing and singing about them with rattles. In the afternoon they led the children to the roots of a tree. In the afternoon they stood in guard every one having a bastinado in his hand made of reeds bound together. These made a line between them all along, through which there were appointed five young men to fetch the children; so every one of the five went through the guard to fetch a child, each after the other by turns. They were fiercely beating them with bastinades, and then patiently enduring and receiving all, defending the children with their naked bodies from the unmerciful blows that put the soundly, though the children escape. All the while the women weep and cry out very passionately, providing mats, skins, mosses and dry wood as things fitting their children's funerals.

After the children were thus passed the guard, the guard tore down the trees, branches and boughs, with such violence that they rent down the (or the trees) and made mats for their beds, or belocked their harpers with the leaves. What else was done with the children, was not seen, but they made a great heape in a valley as dead, where they made a great feast for all the company".

asked ~~of~~ ^{the} meaning of this ceremony. It is indeed told
 in that not all the children died, but only such a part of
 them as fell to Okee by lot, whose left breast Okee sucked
 till the child died, while the rest were kept in the forest with
 nothing with them but the priests and counsellors. ^{So the necessity} Moreover,
~~Such was the necessity of celebrating~~ this sacrifice, that
 were it omitted, ~~these~~ Indians thought that their Okee or
 devil and all the other "quivourghcosoucks" would give them
 no deer, turkeys, corn ^{or} fish, ^{and} other tribes would make
 great slaughter of them.

(1)

The practice of "uskawwing" was ~~another extremely~~ ^{another} curious ceremonial usage observed periodically by the Virginia Indians. If it priests were instituted and warriors
~~ashed into "life" as it were.~~ Like ceremonies were in
 vogue among all the North American tribes, ⁱⁿ and such a usage
 of ambiguous character is that described by Longfellow as
 "Hiawatha's Fasting." This solemnity of the "uskawwing"
 took place every thirteen or fourteen years or even more
 frequently, as the young boys began to come to maturity.
 Its aim was without doubt, to prepare the youth for admis-
 sion into the rank of warriors or counsellors. The candi-
 dates for this "life" were taken into the thickest part of
 the forest and there kept in close and solitary confinement
 (1) Overier, Hist. of Va., pp. 122, 123.

for several months with a healthy and ~~pleasant~~ taste for the extract of some of the poisonous roots, and a decoction of the leaves and ~~the~~ twigs of the cassia or ilex, ~~grignon~~. As a result of this unnatural fare, madness came on, and the fit was prolonged eighteen days, during which they were closely confined. The place of confinement was called "Muskanwapan, (1) "one or which", says Beverley. "I saw belonging to the Pamunkey Indians in the year 1694. It was in shape like a sugar loaf, and every way open like a lattice for the air to pass through." "After a sufficient portion of this intoxicating coction had been drunk the "medicine man" gradually diminished the dose; so that in due time they recovered their senses and were brought back to the town.

This process, ~~in the~~ ^{17th century} ~~supposed~~ to act like the vapors of Ictho upon the body. "To release the youth from all their childish impressions, and free that strong partiality to persons and things which is contracted before reason becomes a guiding principle in life. "So that when these young men come to themselves again, their senses may act freely without being biased by the checks of custom and education. Thus they become discharged from any ties of

(1) Beverley. Hist. of Va. p. 179.

blood, and are established in a state of equality and perfect freedom, to order their actions and dispose of their persons as they think proper, without any other control

(1)

Such then is ~~some account of~~ the religious institutions and beliefs of the Virginia Indians ^{very imperfectly} not entirely satisfactory to be sure, ~~but as complete as the data will permit; for~~ the accounts of the old historians in this regard in other respects are exceedingly ^{2002/1/16} ~~scanty and unsatisfactory.~~ There is enough, however, ~~given~~ to war-

rant the statement that the Virginia Indians had a ~~full~~ ^{well} developed cult and belief in the efficacy of religious observances. They were ~~too~~ ^{very} of an extremely superstitious religious nature seeing gods in the elements, every animal, ^{every} plant. In fine and then it may be said with truth that ~~fancy ran riot in superstitions~~

view page

INDIAN SURVIVALS IN VIRGINIA.

It will ~~sure~~ not be ^{1002/1/16} ~~miss to notice in conclusion,~~ ~~by way of appendix,~~ the ~~most~~ noteworthy survivals of the Virginia Indians in our day. Such ~~are~~

(1) Ibid, p. 180.

(2) Strachey, p. 100

1. Such common words as "pone", "hominy", "hickory", "tuckahoe", "cinquapin", "persimmons", "barbecue" and "caucus" ~~(?)~~ are all derived from the Virginia Indians.
2. The burial places of these Indians, their shell-heaps, the rock-carvings and pictographs still remain scattered here and there over Virginia's soil, and their arrow-heads etc., are constantly being dug up.
3. "Indians still exist in Virginia. With reference to all such Indians, we should say, however, that there is not a single full-blooded Indian, speaking their own language from Delaware Bay to Pinlico sound. There are, however, two small bands of so-called "Indians" living, to this day, on two small reservations in King William County, north-east of Richmond.

These people, ~~however~~ are of mixed blood. For the most part they are part negro, part Indian. It is still their boast, ~~however~~, that they are descendants of Powhatan's warriors, and an evidence of their enterprising ambition in the ~~right direction~~ is an application recently made by them for a share in the school privileges of the Hampton Schools.

These two bands are known by two names: the larger is called the Pamunkers (120 souls), the smaller band goes by the name of the Mattapanies (30). They are

whose son left an only son, who is Major John Collins, who was born in 1743. Colonel John Collins, and several others married to Colonel Richard Randolph, Colonel John Fleming, Jr. William Tay, Mr. Thomas Eldridge and Mr. James Murray. So that this remnant of the Imperial Family of Virginia which long ran in a single person is now increased and branched out into a very numerous progeny. And so it is, as can be seen from the place of "Wendham Robertson's "Descendants of Pocahontas", which, however, it should be remarked is not entirely accurate and does not include all her descendants at the present day who are in number "legion".

5. Indian place-names in Virginia.

~~We shall give the principal ones with their meanings,~~
in alphabetical order.

Accohannoc (alg.) = "as far as the river"; name of a river.

Accomac (alg.) = "a broad bay" or "the other side-land"
Accotuck

Acquia (alg. equi-i) = "in between so as to be" or "sandy creek".

Alleghany

Aquasco (p. Alg. Achawomuit) - "red-bay".

Bickahominy - "turkey-lick".

Bocan - "the South" or "the South-east".

Conecocheague - "indeed a long way".

Cowanesque - "briery, thorny, bushy".

Cesapeake - "a superior, or greater, salt-bay".

Hanawha - "river of the woods".

Hettalan - "the great town".

Hettatony - "no head to be had at all".

Meherrin - "on the island".

Monocacy - "stream containing large ponds".

Monongahela - "high banks covered often with
down".

Nansemond - "from whence we fled".

Nanticoke - "tide-water people".

Nemancock - "foggy-place".

Occohanock - "crooked, winding stream".

Oregon - "a stream of whitish colour".

Ossiniar - "stony place".

Osse - "white water".

Pamankey - "all the sweet house were sweetened".

Patapsco - "back-water".

Patuxent - "little falls".

Powhatan - "falls in a stream".

Pocotalungo - "the little stream that flows through the hills" or
"little water".

Pocatalino - "plenty of little streams".

Pocconoke - "knobby".

Poccon - "a place where hills, valleys and lead is
to be found".

Port Tobacco - "a bay or cove".

Potomac - "there are coming by water" or "place of
running pine".

Pungoteague - "the place of dust" (or powder).

Quantico - "dancing".

Rappahannock - "where the tide ebbs and flows".

Roanoke - "place of shells".

Shenandoah - "the Shuany Stream" - the stream of

Tuckahoe - "deer and stag".

Tuscarora - "shirt-wearing people".

Werowocomoco - "house of the chief".

Wooling - "place of the head".

Wicomico - "where the houses are built".

Wyanoke - "the going around place".

Wroking - "large fields" or plains.

Walla totola - "the river that ends".

Youghkeeny - "the stream flowing in a circle".

(1)
course.

Numerous are Indian names still in use in Virginia and singularly applicable to the poetic verses of Mrs. L. L. Sigourney

(2)

- - - their home is in the waters -
Ye may not wash it out.
and - - - their life only kindled by the hills
Their baptism on your shore.
Long everlasting rivers speak
Their dialect of gore".

6. "Indian Summer" is another term still in use, deriving its origin from the Indian name of the Western country. Says Doddridge in, "This expression (see Indian Summer) has continued in general use, though the origin of the term has been forgotten still, he goes on, "a backwoodsman seldom hears this with out a shill of horror, since he understands the term in its original sense. The settlers enjoyed no peace but in the winter season, when the vigor of the weather prevented Indian incursions. The visit of winter was heralded with delight by the settlers, who in spring are ready.

- (1) This list of Indian names is from General John Schoolcraft
- (2) "Indian Names"
- (3) Peter J. M.

fall had been equal to the rest of the stockades. At the close of the winter the Indians with their families returned to their homes joyfully at the release from confinement, all was bustle and hilarity. The depths of winter were more pleasant than the month of June to the settlers.

It, however, sometimes happened that after winter had begun - - - the snowy time commenced, and lasted for a considerable number of days. This was Indian Summer, since it afforded the Indians another opportunity for visiting the settlements - - -".

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~~Note.~~ The writer omitted to mention that During the summer of 1893 he attended the Law Course at the University of Virginia.

